BULLETIN OF
THE JOHN RYLANDS
LIBRARY
MANCHESTER

EDITED
BY THE
LIBRARIAN
(HENRY GUPPY)

VOL. 21 APRIL, 1937 No. 1

# NOTES AND NEWS.

## IN MEMORIAM.

IT is with profound regret that we have to record the death of Mr. John Westall Marsden, M.A., J.P., which took place with tragic suddenness, in Manchester, on Monday, the 14th of December, 1936, within a few hours of the holding of the December Meeting of the Council of Governors of the John Rylands Library, at which he had presided.

JOHN WESTALL MARSDEN.

Mr. Marsden, who was in the seventy-eighth year of his age, had been associated with the administration of the Library for seventeen years, first as a representative governor, appointed, in 1920, by the Lancashire and Cheshire Association of Baptist Churches, in succession to Sir George Macalpine ; since 1929 as chairman of the Council of Governors, in succession to Professor A. S. Peake ; and since 1930 as one of the trustees.

Throughout those years, and until the day of his death, Mr. Marsden had served the institution with conspicuous ability and untiring devotion, and his colleagues on the Council, together with the officials of the Library, mourn the loss of one who by his qualities of heart had won their highest personal esteem and affection and whose wise counsel they will greatly miss.

We recall with grateful appreciation the recent action of the University of Manchester in conferring upon Mr. Marsden the degree of Master of Arts, *honoris causa*, in recognition of his service to the cause of education, a distinction which afforded him intense satisfaction.

Mr. Marsden had been a student of the Owens College, between the years 1878 and 1880. After leaving Owens College he was engaged until his middle thirties in the manufacturing

section of the cotton trade. He then decided to enter the legal profession, and was admitted a solicitor in 1895. At the time of his death he was head of the firm of Marsden & Marsden of Blackburn, his home town.

Mr. Marsden had touched life at many points, and in many quarters, and has left behind him indelible marks of his personality. He will be best remembered as an enthusiastic educationist, and at Blackburn Grammar School his memory will ever remain fresh and fragrant. As a governor for nearly forty years, and as the chairman of the governors since 1919, Mr. Marsden had tremendous faith in the school, which he had learned to love when he was still a pupil there. He was probably the greatest benefactor the school has ever known. He toiled unceasingly to develop local pride in that ancient foundation by directing attention to the necessity of living up to the traditions which had been handed down by generation upon generation of old boys, for it is tradition that transmutes the base metal of any school into the purest gold.

In February, 1932, the Old Blackburnians' Association presented Mr. Marsden with his portrait in oils, in recognition of his services to the school, which, in turn, he handed over to the governors to be hung in the great hall where the presentation took place. The occasion was marked by a large and enthusiastic gathering of friends and " old boys," who assembled to do honour to one who for a long period of years had rendered unremitting service, not only to the school, but also to the cause of education in general. Glowing tributes of grateful appreciation and affection were paid by the Headmaster, the teaching staff, and fellow governors to Mr. Marsden's genuine appreciation of scholarship and his high sense of the spiritual value of education which had proved such a constant source of inspiration to them in their work. He had displayed a firm faith and trust in the staff, and had seen to it that he had a personal knowledge and acquaintance with every member. Therein lay the quiet but far-reaching influence of his life upon others. His attitude to life was admirably summed up in the motto " service before self."

In many other ways was Mr. Marsden active. He was a member of the Blackburn Education Committee, and chairman of the Higher Education Sub-Committee, to which, just before

his lamented death, he was re-elected for the twenty-second time. He realised the importance of technical education and was looking forward to big advances in connexion with the Municipal Training College. To the Girls' High School, of which he was vice-chairman, Mr. Marsden rendered much useful service.

In literature and art he also left his mark. He had been a member of the Blackburn Public Library Committee since 1900, and also served on the Art Sub-Committee. He took a great part in the Shakespeare celebration in 1916, and was one of a small group who saved from the housebreakers the historic Samlesbury Hall, and on its acquisition for the benefit of the public he became one of the five original trustees.

Mr. Marsden was a great art lover. His home is a treasure-house of some of the greatest of the modern masters. Many years ago he lent a fine selection of his oil and water colours to the Corporation for exhibition in the Blackburn Art Gallery.

In 1906 Mr. Marsden was appointed to the Borough Bench of Magistrates. He was a manager and trustee of the Blackburn Savings Bank, and the first chairman of the Unemployment Committee. Indeed, he was a man of very varied gifts who gave himself and his means to public service with a single eye to the public good.

In spiritual matters Mr. Marsden was a tower of strength to the Baptist cause. He had filled the position of teacher, secretary, and superintendent of the Sunday School in the Montague Road Church. He was one of the original members of the Leamington Road Church, where his interest both in Church and Sunday School never flagged. He filled many positions, and rendered conspicuous service to the denomination, having served as moderator of the Lancashire and Cheshire Association of Baptist Churches. In 1905 he became president of the Blackburn Free Church Council.

As one of his friends said of him: "He loved beautiful things, pictures, books, and wayside flowers, but he never allowed himself to be so absorbed as to forget the first things."

Mr. Marsden leaves a widow and two sons to mourn his loss, to whom we desire to offer our sincere sympathy in their sore bereavement.

Another friend of the Library has passed away in the person of Sir Grafton Elliot Smith, and we are grateful to Professor Pear for kindly undertaking to contribute the following memorial tribute.

GRAFTON ELLIOT SMITH was born in the village of Grafton, New South Wales, in 1871. His father was a schoolmaster; his family English and Welsh. This fusion, uncommon, perhaps, in the Dominions, produced an unusual mind. In 1888 he entered the University of Sydney where, studying anatomy under Anderson Stuart and J. T. Wilson, he immediately attracted notice. By 1895 he had written eleven papers on the morphology of the brain.

SIR GRAFTON ELLIOT SMITH 1871-1937.

In 1896 he came to Great Britain. It is not entirely deplorable that the University of Oxford would not accept him, because of his lack of Latin and Greek, for Cambridge was less exacting, and there he found Almroth Wright and Donald MacAlister. In three years he had been elected Fellow of St. John's College, and did much to establish the tradition of brilliance amongst the newly-admitted class of "research students."

In 1900 he proceeded to the Chair of Anatomy at the Government Medical School, Cairo. It was there, as readers of the JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY BULLETIN will recognise, that an accidental factor entered, which coloured his thinking, focused his interests, and for the rest of his life enriched an exceptionally receptive mind with unusual ideas. When Elliot Smith handled the mummies, numerous and varied, which were sent to Cairo he became impressed by the improbability that the idea, not to mention the technique of mummification, should have arisen independently in disconnected parts of the world. It was in Manchester, however, that he first gave a full account of this expert anatomical view, before a society at whose meetings, in John Dalton's house, new ideas have been constantly produced ever since the birth of the atomic theory. His paper was entitled "On the Significance of the Geographical Distribution of the Practice of Mummification."[1]

[1] Vol. 59, *Memoirs and Proceedings of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society*, 1924-25.

In 1909 he came to Manchester. During the next few years, this city, its University, and great educational institutions, the John Rylands Library and the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society received many benefits from the mental distinction, the many-sidedness and the friendly interest of three great Antipodeans, Elliot Smith, Alexander, and Rutherford. The present writer was privileged to know them all at this time, when there was, or seemed to be, more leisure than nowadays. His first meeting with Elliot Smith was typical of all subsequent ones. To a tentative suggestion that university students of psychology would benefit by more knowledge of the brain and the sense-organs, Elliot Smith replied with characteristic definiteness and generosity that the lectures should be given and that he would deliver them.

Elliot Smith soon attracted round him a brilliant number of workers in anatomy; in particular Wood Jones and J. S. B. Stopford, now Vice-Chancellor of Manchester University. Before long the discovery of the Piltdown skull involved him in lively interviews and discussions no less exciting. By this time he had exchanged many ideas about ethnology with W. H. R. Rivers [1] and W. J. Perry. With Perry he returned to the statement of his belief in the " diffusion " theory of culture; a theme which formed the title of a later book. His thesis that a collection of apparently unrelated and apparently useless practices could be accounted for by supposing that they had grown up together in a particular centre, for reasons which were quite valid at that time and in that place, but that such a collection, found in a distant part of the world, could never have originated independently, was delivered with a bluntness which challenged and received heated counter-attacks. His devastating, and justified, remark still stands; that those who invoke what they call " the psychological argument " use a travesty of psychology which no psychologist has ever thought it necessary to demolish. He asked questions about " the fundamental similarity of the human mind " which Freud and Jung have never answered. Elliot Smith's admiration for Freud's fearlessness, his refusal to regard

[1] Author of *Mind and Medicine*, in this Library's series of publications.

" obvious " things as obvious, and his unceasing tendency to regard foolish, absurd and insane happenings as significant, was tempered by surprise that Freud should have re-introduced the idea of " universal symbolism." Not a few psychologists will read Jung's doctrine of the " Collective Unconscious " with greater interest when the questions of the diffusionists have been satisfactorily answered.

When the war broke out, Elliot Smith was invited by Dr. R. G. Rows to join the staff of the Maghull Military Hospital near Liverpool. He saw that few of the cases there were either of insanity or suffering from neurological lesions. As a result, together with Rows, he collected at Maghull a number of workers specially trained and interested in the psychological treatments of mental disorder. Of these Rivers was one, and many ethnological points were discussed during this partnership.

In 1919 Elliot Smith went to the Chair of Anatomy at University College, London, and from here visited America, a journey which had significance for the support of the fine School of Anatomy in Gower Street. Until 1932, when he was partly incapacitated by a stroke, he again attracted many first-class workers, frequently from foreign countries. He visited China in connexion with the Peking skull discovered by one of his students, Davidson Black; another student, named Dart, discovered the Taungs Ape in South Africa. Against his disabilities Elliot Smith struggled with characteristic cheerfulness, and died at Broadstairs on the first day of this year.

Unlike many original minds which intensify their brilliance by concentrating their efforts in one field, Elliot Smith's intellect was multi-directional. There were few subjects, except music, on which he did not discourse with incandescent keenness, humour, modesty and a slightly delusive imperturbability.

He was always generous to others, never failing in kindness and interest towards the young student and to those in trouble. Few great investigators have left an impress upon more scientific subjects, and upon more hearts.

T. H. Pear.

We regret to have to record the loss of still another friend of the Library, through the death of Dr. Edward Arbuthnot Knox, for seventeen years Bishop of Manchester, who from 1918 to 1921 was a governor of this Library. Upon his retirement from Manchester to Shortlands, in Kent, in 1921, he was made an honorary governor, and throughout the years of his retirement he maintained a friendly correspondence with the writer of this note.

BISHOP E. A. KNOX.

Bishop Knox, who had been brought up in the evangelical tradition, was the champion of the Low Church party, and a resolute champion of the Church School System.

In his retirement Bishop Knox showed himself as active with his pen as he had been in Manchester with his voice and his powers of organisation. He wrote an excellent work on *John Bunyan in Relation to His Times* (1928); a scholarly life of the almost forgotten Robert Leighton (1930); a book on the *Tractarian Movement* (1933); a delightful account of his own strenuous life, under the title *Reminiscences of an Octogenarian* (1935); and at the time of his death he was engaged upon a work dealing with the Bishops of the Reformation, a great deal of the material for which had been gleaned for him in the Rylands Library.

His death took place at his residence in Shortlands, Kent, on the 16th of January, in the ninetieth year of his age.

As the present pages are passing through the press, news reaches us of the death of Professor Adolf Deissmann, the eminent German theologian and biblical scholar, at his home at Wünsdorf, near Berlin, on Sunday, the 4th of April, after a brief illness, in his seventy-first year.

PROFESSOR ADOLF DEISSMANN.

Adolf Deissmann, the son of a Protestant clergyman, studied at the Universities of Tübingen and Berlin, also at the Theological Seminary of Herborn. After his ordination in 1890 he became a curate at Dausenau. When only thirty years of age, he was appointed Professor of Theology at Heidelberg University, and in 1908 was called to succeed Dr. Bernhard Weiss in the Chair of New Testament Exegesis and Greek Bible Philology in

the University of Berlin. Later he became Director of the New Testament Seminary of the same University, and a member of the General Synod.

Professor Deissmann was one of the first scholars to appreciate the value and importance of the non-literary Greek papyri which were being found in great quantities in the rubbish heaps of Oxyrhynchus in Egypt by a number of scholars, prominent among whom were Drs. Grenfell and Hunt.

The biblical and classical examples which formed part of the same finds and of which perhaps the best known is " The Sayings of Our Lord," had engaged the attention of scholars as soon as the texts were available, but it was Professor Deissmann who pointed out what a vast field of research was opened up by the ephemeral non-literary documents.

His contention was that in these so-called non-literary documents, which consisted of private letters, accounts, and business contracts, we had access to the language spoken by the common people during the centuries when the Old Testament was translated into Greek, and when the New Testament writings were composed. He pointed out that in these Greek papyri we had the colloquial form of the common dialect of Greek, which proved to be the key to much in biblical Greek which had perplexed those who had read it in the light of the classical literary form of the language.

Deissmann's work inspired our own James Hope Moulton, Professor of Hellenistic Greek in the University of Manchester, and for many years Deissmann, in Germany, and Moulton, in England, were the leaders in a far-reaching re-investigation of the whole problem, which drew into its ranks many other scholars in both countries.

In one of his best known works, " Das Licht vom Osten," of which three editions were called for in 1908-1909, and of which an English translation was issued in 1910 under the title " Light from the Ancient East," Deissmann brought together a mass of material chiefly from papyri and inscriptions, illustrating the Hellenistic background of early Christianity, which revealed the actual impact of the new religion on the world of its time.

Much of his work was the result of personal research during

the several tours he made in Greece, Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt.

Of his numerous other works, many are known in this country. They include Primitive Christianity, the Old Testament, and Semitic monotheism. One of the most famous is his work on the personality of St. Paul: "St. Paul: a study in social and religious history." His other, probably most widely read work, is "The Religion of Jesus and the Faith of Paul," a series of lectures delivered at Selly Oak in 1923.

Dr. Deissmann's scholarship was recognised and honoured in this country by the Universities of Oxford, Aberdeen, St. Andrews, and Manchester by the conferment of the degree of Doctor of Divinity.

By his death we have lost a scholar whose services to Biblical learning it is impossible to estimate.

Although Dr. Deissmann, who retired from his Chair in 1935, did not take a very active part in the Church conflict of the last few years, his sympathies were with those groups of the Church who resisted the "German Christian" efforts to introduce what they regarded as heresies compromising with the National Socialist racial mysticism. He was among the 120 theologians who, in 1934, headed by Professor Karl Barth, signed the manifesto urging the resignation of Reich Bishop Müller.

THE RYLANDS LIBRARY DURING 1936.

At the annual meeting of the governors of the John Rylands Library held in January, Professor J. S. B. Stopford, M.D., F.R.S., Vice-Chancellor of the University of Manchester, was elected to the Chairmanship of the Council of Governors, in succession to Mr. J. W. Marsden, whose death took place with tragic suddenness within a few hours of the holding of the December meeting, at which he had presided.

Other honorary officials appointed were: Sir Christopher Needham, B.A., D.L., as Vice-Chairman of the Council; Sir William Davy, J.P., as Honorary Treasurer; and Mr. J. Harold Brown, as Honorary Secretary.

The Librarian, in reviewing the work of the year, reported that it had been a period of sustained activity along well-established

lines rather than in new developments of outstanding importance.

One of the most noteworthy features of the use made of the Library is the constantly increasing amount of advanced study and research which has been conducted by students, not only of our own universities, but by scholars from other countries ; and it is noticeable that this aspect of the work increases year by year as the valuable manuscript material which the Library offers becomes better and more widely known.

Every encouragement is given to such readers, with the result that of late years the steady increase in their numbers has caused the seating capacity of the Library to be taxed, at times to the point of congestion, and, if the present standard of service is to be maintained, the need for increased accommodation, both for books and readers, becomes yearly more emphasised.

The present position is that we are in possession of the land at the rear of the present site, and also the sketch-plans for this much-needed extension, but a substantial sum of money will be required before the work can be put in hand, and this is quite beyond the present resources of the institution, which are barely sufficient to meet its ordinary needs if it is to satisfy the requirements of the students who resort to it in search of the material and guidance which they need in the special research which they are conducting.

Under these circumstances, we can only hope that some one richly dowered, as was the founder of this institution, who has not yet given thought to the disposition of his or her wealth, may be led to follow the example of Mrs. Rylands, and dedicate some of the remaining years of their life to such a worthy object as this, and by so doing invest life with a new and larger interest, and at the same time assist the governors not only to carry on the work in the spirit and intention of the Founder, but to develop it upon lines which shall yield still greater results in the stimulation of original investigation and in the encouragement of scholarship.

The additions to the shelves of the Library during the year by purchase and by gift comprise 5458 printed books, 43 manuscripts and 412 charters and miscellaneous documents, many of which are of great historical interest.

Such unstinted praise has been accorded to the BULLETIN and the other publications issued by the Library during the year that we feel no hesitation in assuming that they have maintained the reputation already established as mediums of communication between scholars in this and other countries.

In addition to two issues of the BULLETIN, fifteen volumes of studies by scholars of eminence have been published, in which new theories and discoveries have been advanced which were calculated to impart fresh stimulus to study in their respective fields of research.

The most noteworthy publication of the year was the monograph by Mr. C. H. Roberts in which were made accessible to scholars the results of the recent discovery of the papyrus fragments of the Book of Deuteronomy in the Greek version of the *Septuagint*, written in the second century, B.C., and consequently three hundred years earlier than any other known manuscript of the Bible.

Never before has any of the Rylands publications been greeted with such a chorus of approval from scholars in all parts of the world, including His Holiness the Pope, whose congratulations upon the discovery were transmitted by the Papal Secretary, and never before has any of the Library publications received such welcome and widespread attention from the press.

Another department of the Library's activities, which is fraught with possibilities of world-wide benefit, is centred in the photographic studio, by means of which it has been possible to render invaluable assistance to scholars both at home and abroad by furnishing them with photographic facsimiles either of entire manuscripts or of pages of some of the rarer books and manuscripts in the Library. During the last few years many thousands of pages have been furnished in this way in response to requests, which steadily grow in numbers, often from scholars in distant parts of the world.

In the case of requests for transcripts of some important text in the possession of the Library it has been possible, at small cost, to provide rotographs of the passage, which were at once more trustworthy and more acceptable than the best hand-made transcript.

THE RYLANDS LIBRARY HONOURED.

The Governors of the John Rylands Library feel that it would be highly improper if this number of its BULLETIN should appear without mention of the honour which His Majesty has graciously conferred on our Librarian. But as our Librarian is also editor of the BULLETIN, we know that he would regard it as equally improper if his own praises were sung in his own BULLETIN. So, as Governors, we have for the first time since our foundation imposed our fiat on the Librarian. He is hereby commanded to print these notes.

It is not our present intention to say what well might be said about the John Rylands Library, nor about the distinction it brings to Manchester. At this moment our main wish, though to attain it is well-nigh impossible, is to distinguish between the Library and its Librarian, and for the sole purpose of expressing our esteem for him, our recognition of his wonderful achievement, and our gratification that His Majesty has given a signal token of his gracious approval of Dr. Guppy's merits.

Mrs. Rylands founded the Library: Dr. Guppy made it. He came here in 1899, three months before the building was opened, and before it contained a single volume. Very soon he had seen its nucleus of 70,000 printed books and an odd hundred manuscripts into their shelves. Now, in 1937, and largely through his uncanny foresight in securing the right acquisitions and in the right way, he is Librarian of almost half-a-million printed books, twelve thousand manuscripts, and twenty thousand proclamations. He has made a provincial memorial into one of the world's most notable institutions of learning. He has done it, broadly, by two supreme virtues: in the first place, by his mastery of the whole science or "mystery" of librarianship; and, in the second place, by the single-minded dedication of his gifts of character to the service of the Library. It is a delicate, and indeed, an invidious task to speak of a friend's personality; but no tribute to Dr. Guppy can omit to state how much his achievement has been due to the depth of his moral sense, to his eagerness for well-doing, to the sincerity and the charm of his friendship. To know him is to be forcibly reminded that, in librarianship, as in most human activities, great achievements are

built on integrity of character. And we, the Governors of John Rylands Library, venerate Guppy the man as highly as we honour Guppy the Librarian.

Of all the professions, none in the last half-century have made such progress in establishing itself as a noble exercise of human service as has librarianship. That is largely due to the spirit in which Guppy and a small group of others like him have interpreted their office. Before he came to Manchester, Dr. Guppy had begun to play his part in the work of the Library Association. He gave its first course of lectures on bibliography, and, until his new responsibilities in Manchester left him no time for it, he edited the Library Association's monthly periodical, *The Library Association Record*. Moreover, in his early days in Manchester, he co-operated with the City Council in establishing a training centre for civic librarians on lines similar to those sponsored in London by the Library Association. For nine years he gave courses of lectures on special sides of professional training, and many municipal librarians must look back to these discourses as revelations of a new light and a new opportunity in their profession. The Library Association showed its appreciation by making him its President in 1926-1927; and, as its official head, he visited the more famous libraries of Canada and U.S.A.

Guppy has always seen his office not merely as that of a cataloguer and guardian of books, but as a means for the propagation and the extension of knowledge. Immediately on settling in Manchester, he instituted in the Library an annual series of lectures by experts on topics represented in the Rylands collection of books. These Rylands lectures are now an integral part of Manchester's intellectual life. To give them wider currency, in 1903 Dr. Guppy instituted the RYLANDS BULLETIN, a periodical which now ranks high amongst the world's learned publications, and amongst its learned contributors none ranks higher than its editor. Besides the BULLETIN, the Rylands has a large list of separate publications to indicate the many-sidedness of the development of its activities during Guppy's librarianship. In particular, may be mentioned the facsimiles of some of its rarest items, and the catalogues of some of its special collections. Through these, indeed, it is probable that in many odd corners

of the world Manchester is better known for its Rylands publications than for its commercial products. Even when publication in the full sense is impracticable or undesirable, the material in the Library has been made accessible to scholars by the aid of a photographic studio in which photographs or rotographs of documents or of particular sections of books are made by the Library's staff. This service excellently illustrates Dr. Guppy's notion of his duty. He is there to help all whose desire is for knowledge. By Exhibitions, by Lecture-Demonstrations, by Photography, by Publication, in every way his object is to make the Library's resources available to the right person, whether that person be a young graduate or a world-renowned pundit.

Librarianship, exhibited like this, is a social service ; indeed, as learning is universal, the librarian's social service is an international contribution. Dr. Guppy's name is probably better known in the learned circles of Europe and America than are those of half our Cabinet Ministers. One foreign country in particular honours him with an especial honour, Belgium. Guppy inaugurated, and bore the heavy and often routine burden of operating the scheme by which the world replaced the books destroyed in the destruction of Louvain University, a type of war-service characteristic of Guppy.

So one might go on letting memory recall this and other things which we and Manchester and the learned world owe to Dr. Guppy. But if one says much more, his loyalty to his Governors may break, and he may refuse to print these foregoing paragraphs altogether. So one last sentence : never was there a worthier C.B.E.

ONE OF THE GOVERNORS.

THE NEW JOURNAL OF THE UNIVERSITY.

We offer a very warm welcome to the new Journal of the University of Manchester, the first number of which has just been published.

The opening article is in the form of a message from the Chairman of the University Council, Sir Christopher T. Needham, in which he explains the object of the publication. To quote his own words : "This journal is a new venture of the University, one which it is hoped will be so welcome that its

publication from time to time will become an event to which members will look forward with pleasure. Its issue is designed by Council to meet what it feels to be a responsibility in regard to graduates to provide news of University interest, information of developments in University policy, as well as personal matters concerning the different departments."

In this respect the new journal will meet a long felt want. The great numbers of graduates who have migrated to lands beyond the seas will welcome this journal as a medium of communication that will enable them to keep in touch with their *Alma Mater*.

Mr. Cardwell, in his article which deals with "Convocation and its Possibilities," very pertinently remarks that "graduates owe to the University a life-long debt which few can repay in full; but there are many ways in which some small return may be made." By means of this journal they will now be kept informed of the developments and the needs of the University, and also of the ways in which it may be assisted.

The present issue contains seven articles, and a budget of reports. The principal article consists of Professor Godfrey H. Thomson's "Ludwig Mond Lecture" on "Intelligence and Civilisation"; and it is proposed in this way to print special lectures of a more public character which are given from time to time from the University platforms.

Dr. Tyson, the University Librarian, describes the functions of the University library which he rightly regards as "a vital workshop." Professor Edward Fiddes offers personal recollections of some of the teachers of forty years ago, who, by the eminence of their scholarship did so much, not only to establish, but also to maintain, the reputation of Owens College—men who struck the key-note of college life and work, and set up the ideals which are still inspiring staff and students to-day.

Another article by Professor A. H. Gibson deals with the Department of Engineering, and with the pioneer work of his famous predecessor, Professor Osborne Reynolds.

But we venture to believe that the section which deals with the activities of the Halls of Residence and the Unions will not be the least welcome feature.

The journal is extremely well printed, and is pleasant both to handle and to read. It is published by the Manchester University Press, and is to be supplied without charge to graduates and friends of the University.

We are glad to welcome to our pages Professor T. H. Pear, who occupies the Chair of Psychology in the University of Manchester. The subject of his contribution to the present issue is: "The Place of Imagery in Mental Processes," which is a development of the intensely fascinating lecture he delivered in the Library on the 13th of January, in the course of which he showed on the screen pictures of a professor's thoughts—the thoughts of the lecturer himself. Professor Pear explained that his practical application, or message of the lecture, was an echo of the plea made by a number of people lately for visual imagery in education both of children and of the adult social conscience.

T. H. PEAR, PROFESSOR OF PSYCHOLOGY.

We extend an equally cordial welcome to three other contributors whose studies appear for the first time in the present issue.

WELCOME TO NEW CONTRIBUTORS.

Dr. E. J. F. Arnould, of the Department of French and Romance Languages in the University of Manchester, has contributed a closely reasoned study of Richard Rolle of Hampole, in which he has sought to rehabilitate the saintly hermit from the stigma laid upon his character by one of his critics, and, as a result, we venture to believe that Rolle's character will hereafter appear in a still truer light.

Mr. W. E. Reade, Fellow and Tutor of Keble College, Oxford, has rendered a real service to Dante students in the lecture which he delivered in the University of Manchester, in which, to reproduce his own words, his object is simply to enquire of Dante himself how he came to write his *Comedy*, which the world has named "divine," and in what ways he prepared himself for so stupendous a task.

Mr. Edward Hughes, who is Lecturer in Modern History in the University of Manchester, has submitted to a very searching enquiry the question of the authorship of the *Discourse of the*

*Commonweal of this Realme of England*, for so long attributed to John Hales of Coventry ; and has produced evidence upon the strength of which it now seems possible to declare it to be the work of Sir Thomas Smith, Queen Elizabeth's Secretary of State, who died in 1577.

KINGSHIP IN SUMERIA.

Dr. Fish, continuing his studies of " Sumerian Civilisation in the Third Dynasty of Ur " in the present issue, has dealt with the Royal Family and the Royal Household, and in doing so has furnished us with a study of topical interest.

There is no contemporary evidence of the mode of election, proclamation or enthronement of the sovereign, but records have survived in which reference is made to the naming of the king by the god of the land.

Dr. Fish points out that the Sumerian word for king is " great man," and the " great man " par excellence was the god.

On earth kings are given kingship by the gods, and in the ancient king-list we are told that " kingship came down from heaven." It would appear, therefore, that already in the third millennium B.C. the " divine right " of the sovereign was recognised.

The royal residence was known as the " great house " or " house of the great man," and it was here that the " great man," his lady, and his children lived.

We do not know, as yet, much about the queen's household, but there is evidence of the advanced position which women occupied at this early period. Some of the tablets seem to point to the fact that the queen had her own establishment, for reference is made to the offering made by the lady of Bur Sin, which consisted of 104 fat oxen, 17 oxen, 708 sheep, 208 he-goats, and there is reference also to a queen's shepherd.

THE PROVENANCE OF RYLANDS LATIN MS. 40.

Monsieur Seymour de Ricci has favoured us with the following supplement to the note from his pen which we printed in the BULLETIN, Vol. 20, pp. 24-25, January, 1936 : " Please add that the inscription *Maturin Luvard* (?) has been misread by M. R. James.

As you rightly conjectured when you so kindly sent me a photostat of that note, there is a *C* before *Maturin*, which changes *C Maturin* into *Collationné* and *Luvard* as you also saw, is certainly *Hurez*. So exit *Maturin Luvard* and intrat *Collationné Huez*."

CATALOGUES OF MSS. IN THE BRITISH ISLES.

We are pleased to note that Mr. Seymour de Ricci has in preparation a bibliography of catalogues of manuscript collections in the British Isles, under the auspices of the Institute of Historical Research. It is being planned as the first part of a more extensive survey of manuscript material in the British Isles, and already Mr. de Ricci has collected some 30,000 entries for a work which, though on a less detailed plan, is likely to form a companion to his *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States*, of which a second volume is about to appear.

A RECENTLY ACQUIRED MIDDLE ENGLISH MANUSCRIPT.

The recent accessions to the Manuscript Department include an important Middle-English (West Midland) collection of the first part of the fifteenth century. The manuscript, which is in one hand, contains 125 ff. with 21 lines to a full page. It is in a contemporary binding of oak boards and deer-skin, with a clasp. (*a*) The first 110 ff. contain a *processe* of the Passion, Resurrection and Ascension, imperfect at the beginning and end and lacking some folios in the middle. This part of the MS. is apparently based mostly on the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, but other legends relating to the Passion also occur, such as the story of the Devil and Pilate's wife, the death of Judas, and the legend of the Cross. Certain of the prayers, etc., are given in Latin (rubric) followed by an English translation; for example, the prayer of Christ in the Garden and the words of St. Michael to Christ. There are numerous marginal additions in another hand, e.g. the story of Maximilla. This portion begins (imperf., f. 1): *lete heme go þus a lyue, he wolle trane al þe peple to hym* (i.e. the Council of the Jews), and ends, imperf.: *fro þese fallyng þinges which buþ lyght and short, whiche woundeþ and sleeþ oure hertes. And wiþ all*, the last three words being catchwords (i.e. imme-

diately after the sending down of the Holy Ghost). (*b*) The remaining 15 ff. contain a (prose) version of the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, much abbreviated in places. When complete this portion of the MS. apparently consisted of twenty-two folios, but two are now missing at the beginning and five (containing the matter of Chapters XVI and XVII of the Latin *Gesta Pilati*, and part of Chapter VI, all Chapters VII, VIII and IX, and part of Chapter X of the Latin *Descensus Christi Ad Inferos*, as printed by Tischendorf, 1853) lower down. It begins (imperf.): *ken hem a byde. We had no myght ne power þer to, sayde þese knyghtes, Whate for drede and sorwe of the noyse and grysily sight þat we sawe*, i.e. the middle of Chapter XIII of the *Gesta Pilati* (Tischendorf, *op. cit.*, p. 348). Judging from the account of the MSS. containing prose versions of all or part of the *Gospel* in Middle English given in the Introduction to the verse *Harrowing of Hell and Gospel of Nicodemus* (ed. Hulme, *E.E.T.S., Extra Ser., 100*, pp. xxxii *sqq.*), the present MS. has close affinities with but is earlier than Egerton MS. 2658 and Stonyhurst Coll. MS. B. XLIII in Dr. Hulme's Group *a*.[1] The two missing folios at the beginning, therefore, would probably deal with the matter of Chapter XII and the remainder of Chapter XIII of the *Gesta Pilati*, in which case this portion of the MS. originally began with the imprisonment of Joseph, as do five of the nine MSS. dealt with by Dr. Hulme. The MS. ends: *And also Pylate lete wryte a pystle to þe Cite of Rome and to þe Emperour Tyberyas Cesar of all Cristes Passyon. Now god for hys much myght yeue us grace such byleue to have Wher þorowe We mowe come to endles blysse. Amen.* (Cf. the ending of the Egerton MS. as cited by Hulme, *op. cit.*, p. xxxvii and see also *ibid.*, p. xlvi and note 4). Former owners: *Roberte Worthye, Sir John Senleger, Henry Freme, John Hockmon 1576, Thomas Taylor 1756*, George Dunn of Woolley Hall (Lot 604 in the Dunn Sale).

F. T.

[1] In the Egerton MS. the *Gospel* is also preceded by a *History* of the Passion, Resurrection and Ascension (ff. 1-15, double column), apparently as a separate piece, the two being divided by a colophon. The Stonyhurst MS. contains the same pieces or piece (ff. 21-96, of which ff. 83-96 are the *Gospel*) but the *History* is not separated from the *Gospel* (*see* Hulme, *op. cit.*, pp. xxxvi-xxxviii).

In *The Usurpation of Richard III* (O.U.P., 1936), C. A. J. Armstrong has edited the *De Occupatione Regni Anglie per Riccardum tercium* of Dominic Mancini (*c.* 1434-1514). Mancini, a humanist of Roman stock who resided mostly in France, wrote this short treatise for the information of his patron Angelo Cato, Archbishop of Vienne; it was probably through Cato's good offices that he came to England in the first place. The treatise is extant in only one MS. (Lille, Bibl. Municipale, Fonds Godefroy 129), and is incidentally Mancini's only surviving prose-work. It was completed at Beaugency on 1st December, 1483, that is, about five months after the author left England, where he had been since (apparently) the latter end of 1482. Mancini does not reveal his sources, but the nature of his account supports the suggestion that "what he wrote was either from his own observation or drawn from close witnesses"; the latter seems more likely, although it is shown that he probably had some connexion with Edward IV's court, to which he may have obtained entry through Petrus Carmelianus (pp. 17, 25). The narrative, in fact, contains a number of intimate details about Edward and members of his court and Edward's own personality stands out clearly. Unfortunately there is no similar portrait of Richard of Gloucester. Among points of interest are that Richard was overcome with grief at the death of Clarence and was overheard to say that he would one day avenge it (pp. 76, 77) and that it was commonly believed that the Woodvilles divided the late king's treasure between them (pp. 98, 99); there is a good account of the Woodvilles' efforts to win power after Edward's death. It is clear (p. 115) that before Mancini's departure from England, which took place immediately after Richard's coronation, there was a suspicion that the princes had been murdered; no chronicle makes this suggestion at such an early date. There are also interesting digressions on English weapons and on London, which occupy the bulk of the last two (out of eight) chapters. The text is carefully edited with an English translation and notes, and in the introduction are full and scholarly biographies of both Mancini and Cato, together with a discussion of the place of the *De Occupatione* in fifteenth-

USURPATION OF RICHARD III.

century historiography (pp. 20 *sqq.*). A summary of Nicholas von Poppelau's description of Richard (written 1484/1494) is given in an appendix, as providing a valuable supplement to Mancini.

F. T.

ACCESSIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

The following list represents a selection of the works added to the shelves of the library since the publication of the last issue of the BULLETIN :

ART : BEATTY (A. Chester), " A catalogue of the Indian minatures in the collection of Mr. Chester Beatty by Sir Thomas Arnold, revised and edited by J. V. S. Wilkinson," 4to ; CHINESE EXHIBITION, " A commemorative catalogue of the Exhibition of Chinese Art, Royal Academy, 1935-1936, with 350 illustrations," 4to ; CORPUS VASORUM ANTIQUORUM, " Cambridge : Fitzwilliam Museum, 2 : by W. Lamb ; University of California, 1 : by H. R. W. Smith," 4to ; HILDBURGH (W. L.), " Medieval Spanish enamels and their relation to the origin and development of copper champlevé enamels of the 12th-13th centuries," 8vo ; NOTT (S. C.), " Chinese Jade : a comprehensive review of its characteristics, decoration, folklore, and symbolism (150 plates)," 4to ; MARLE (R. van), " The development of the Italian schools of painting," 18 vols., 8vo ; THOMPSON (D. V.), " The materials of medieval painting, with a foreword by B. Berenson," 8vo ; TRUMAN (N.), " Historic costume (300 illustrations)," 8vo ; VENTURI (A.), " Storia dell' arte Italiana, vol. 10 ; La scultura del cinquecento," 8vo.

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# THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

## A RETROSPECT AND AN APPEAL.

By The Editor.

AN appeal on behalf of the University of Manchester for greatly increased funds was launched in the Town Hall on Tuesday, the 10th of March, at a meeting presided over by the Lord Mayor (Alderman Joseph Toole), and supported by the Chancellor of the University (the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres), the Earl of Derby (Chancellor of the University of Liverpool), the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Manchester (Dr. J. S. B. Stopford), the Chairman of the Council (Sir Christopher T. Needham), the Treasurer (Sir E. D. Simon), the Deputy Treasurer (Mr. Robert McDougall), the Joint Honorary Treasurers of the Appeal Fund (Sir Thomas Higham and Mr. Colin M. Skinner), and the Bishop of Manchester (Dr. Guy Warman). It was attended by many distinguished citizens, by civic heads representative of a wide area, including some forty mayors, many former and present members of the staff of the University, and a host of friends of the University from far and near.

The appeal for £300,000 for capital expenditure, and £10,000 in annual subscriptions, which the Council of the University is making, has for its object not only the maintenance of the work that the University is doing, but the development of that which it ought to do.

This appeal marks an important epoch in the history of our University, which is justly regarded as pre-eminent among English provincial universities, and it will not be out of place briefly to review the early and successive stages of its eventful history.

In the days when the *Manchester Guardian* was published only twice a week, there appeared in the issue of Saturday, the 8th February, 1851, a modest advertisement headed "Owens College," in which it was announced that an institution of that name would open at an early date, having for its object "providing or aiding the means of instructing and improving young persons of the male sex, and being of an age not less than fourteen years, in such branches of learning and science as are now, and may be hereafter, usually taught in the English universities, subject to the conditions that no religious tests should be demanded and that no religious instruction should be given which was reasonably offensive to the conscience of any student".

Such had been the wording of the will of John Owens, by which he bequeathed a sum of over £96,000 for the foundation of a college.

John Owens had died five years earlier, leaving behind him the memory of an upright merchant, liberal in nature but reserved in manner. His religious opinions had been founded on a broad basis, and he had regarded compulsory subscription to any prescribed creed with stern disfavour, having been particularly opposed to the religious tests enforced at the older universities.

When his friend, George Faulkner, who had refused to become his heir, encouraged him to leave his wealth for the advancement of learning in his native town, his foremost thought was a college in which perfect liberty of religious opinions should be enjoyed by both teachers and students.

The generous execution of these stipulations by George Faulkner, who appointed as his co-trustees men of strict integrity and of varied views, gave the institution a good start.

The five years following the death of John Owen were spent by his trustees in collecting information from men of experience in all parts of England and Scotland, to enable them to fulfil their trust worthily and well.

With the possible exception of University College, London, there was not a single college in England, at that time, which could have served them as a model, and every plan they made could only be regarded in the nature of an experiment.

Against almost insuperable difficulties their dogged perseverance at length prevailed, and five weeks after the preliminary announcement in the *Manchester Guardian* there was published in the same paper an account of the formal opening of the Owens College, at a public meeting in the Town Hall, on 12 March, 1851.

This day marked a most important event in the history of higher education in England. Owens College was the pioneer, and the model of twelve other university colleges since established in centres of industry and commerce, where they serve to leaven their surroundings with scholarly influence, and, in turn, derive material support from them.

It was on the day following the opening ceremony that the first session began in Quay Street, in a house which had been the residence of Richard Cobden, and was later bought by George Faulkner and presented to the College. Though the staff was small at the outset, consisting of only five professors and two teachers, the former were leading men in the subjects they taught, and most of them had charge of several branches of learning. Principal A. J. Scott was Professor of Philosophy and of English Language and Literature ; Dr. Greenwood lectured both in Classics and in Ancient and Modern History ; and Professor W. C. Williamson was in charge of the teaching of Zoology, Botany, and Geology.

The inaugural lecture was delivered by Professor Greenwood, in the absence of Principal Scott, who was ill at the time. The subject of the lecture was " On the languages and literatures of Greece and Rome," in which the lecturer dealt with the ideals of academic life, and concluded with the words :

> Those who aim at the true end of education—the discipline of the mind and the strengthening of its faculties for after use in the noblest way—they, too, will gain their end, for the very effort, if honestly made, implies success.

Professor Sandeman, who gave the second lecture, spoke of the mental discipline of mathematics, and of their inestimable value in generating habits of accuracy and thoroughness in reasoning. In this way, two broad divisions of learning, Arts and Science, were inaugurated.

During the first session twenty-six students were enrolled, but this promise was not realised, for there was a decline in numbers and a falling off in interest. In 1858 one local paper definitely branded the College as " a mortifying failure ".

In those early days many difficulties had to be faced, students were few and ill-prepared, the resources were inadequate, and the building was located in a squalid noisy slum. Yet, in the darkest days ever experienced by the College, those of 1857-1858, there were men who never despaired ; they saw great possibilities in the future, and were ready to render personal service in the cause which they had at heart : to give to the College its place as an educating and elevating agency.

When, in the early 'sixties, the tide turned, these men had their reward, and in the twenty succeeding years Owens College established its reputation by the prominent position taken by its teachers in the realm of learning and research, and by the success of its students.

John Owens had desired that the money left should be devoted to securing efficiency in teaching rather than sufficiency of accommodation. He laid more stress on the intellectual than the architectural feature of his college, realising that the latter would always take care of itself.

Meanwhile, the old building in Quay Street, which already had been enlarged by the erection of a chemical laboratory in which Dr. Edward Frankland, and later Sir Henry Roscoe, worked and taught, was proving less and less adequate for the growing College, and a public meeting was held to promote an extension scheme.

After much discussion the major part of the present site in Oxford Road was fixed upon. The authorities were without funds to erect the necessary building, but the energy of the committee upon whom was laid the burden of raising money, resulted in the acquisition of £80,000, and it was decided to embark upon the new scheme at once.

At the time, this site seemed to be sufficient for any future needs of Owens College, but it has long since ceased to be adequate, and further land has had to be acquired in adjoining streets for additional buildings.

Mr. Alfred Waterhouse drew plans for the new buildings, and in the three years during which the work of construction was in progress, events of the utmost importance took place. Two Acts of Parliament of 1870 and 1871 modified the constitution of the College, and defined its government, and in 1872 a Royal Charter was granted. Among the changes of the original plan, sex restrictions were set aside, and the age of entrance was raised from fourteen to sixteen years. The supreme control of the College was vested in the Court of Governors, and the general and financial administration was entrusted to the Council, as its Executive Committee. The Senate, to be composed of the Principal and Professors, managed the educational affairs of the College. The offices of President, Treasurer, and Principal were also provided for, and the associates became an organised body, with certain well-defined privileges and obligations.

Henceforth, the College, for the first time, felt the solid rock of a legal constitution beneath its feet, and was enabled, not merely to progress on the old lines but to carry out the wishes of John Owens in a more practical and methodical way than had been possible heretofore.

Early in 1872, the year in which the College attained its majority, the Manchester Royal School of Medicine was incorporated, and became the Medical Department of Owens College. It had been the first school of medicine outside London, both in time and in efficiency, and after incorporation pursued its way with increasing prestige and power, and as regards laboratories and general equipment, is one of the finest in the kingdom.

In the same year the nucleus of the Manchester Museum was acquired. The collections of the Manchester Natural History Society were transferred to the College, and sixteen years later were provided with a home in what is now known as the "Manchester Museum".

In 1873 the new buildings were opened by the late Duke of Devonshire, the first President, who said that with however much satisfaction the new buildings might be contemplated, they only opened the way to still further progress and development. And, as we look back, we realise that such has been the

case. Owens College has ever used its achievements as stepping stones, not as resting-places.

After the inspiring speech of the Duke, Principal Greenwood, in his lecture, held up lofty and inspiring ideals to the students, and spoke with deep solemnity of the "end of learning," concluding with a direct and memorable plea for the true honour due to John Owens. The address was the noble expression of a mind whose influence on the College has been beneficial and lasting.

Mr. Thomas Ashton, to whose untiring zeal it was largely owing that the new buildings were erected, formally handed them over to the College authorities, and prophesied that before thirty years had elapsed there would be within the walls of Owens College from 1500 to 2000 students, a prediction more nearly fulfilled than usually befalls human prophecy. Other speakers included Professor Roscoe, Mr. Alfred Neild, and Bishop Fraser. The Bishop referred to the character ascribed to Manchester as being a place addicted to the pursuit of money, and that the acquisition of wealth had for long been far more rapid than the acquisition of knowledge and culture.

The lofty and serious note struck in many of the addresses on that occasion has proved the true key-note of college life and work, and the ideals expounded then are still inspiring both staff and students to-day.

Under the new conditions it became possible to erect laboratories for the study of the natural sciences, with an equipment hitherto unknown in this country.

This steady growth resulted in a new movement for a Manchester University, and a demand was formulated by a group of professors in 1875, with the support of the Manchester Corporation and local institutions throughout the county.

The formation of the "Victoria University" by Act of Parliament in 1880, with its seat in Manchester, marked a new stage in the growth of Owens College. Yorkshire College, Leeds, became a constituent college of the new university, which was named the "Victoria University, Manchester," after Her Majesty Queen Victoria. The first College was to be the Owens College, with arrangements for the admission of other

colleges, satisfactorily equipped, each of which should have a share in the government of the University proportionate to their magnitude and efficiency. Under this provision the University College, Liverpool, became associated in a Federal University. Though the three colleges worked harmoniously, it was found, in the end, that the disadvantages of the federal system far outweighed the advantages. The freedom from constraint, a matter so important and so characteristic of universities, did not exist. The most important development was that degrees should be conferred upon students prepared by an academic training in the colleges of the University, which should have a share in determining the curricula of study.

The charter also admitted women to the degrees of the new University, and the formation of a college for women was speedily achieved and carried on by means of the staff of Owens College, though it was not actually incorporated with the College until three years later.

It was not long before women were admitted to the same classes as those " young persons of the male sex," for whom the College was founded.

In 1889 Dr. (afterwards Sir) Adolphus Ward was appointed Principal of the College, and in the same year the first Government grant was received, and was followed by grants from various other public bodies. The Manchester Corporation founded some scholarships tenable at Owens, and a few years later the Lancashire County Council granted a sum of money.

In 1890 a Day Training Department for Men was formed, and was so successful that two years later a Department for Women Day Training Students was formed. The success of the Training Department led to the organisation of a special Department of Education, and the foundation of a Chair of Education.

In 1897 Dr. Ward retired from the Principalship of the College, which he had held from 1889 to 1897, and from the Vice-Chancellorship of the Federal Victoria University. No one loved Owens College better, and by the stimulus of his teaching, by his distinction as a historian, and by his administrative ability, he helped to raise the status of the College to such eminence

that the refusal to grant a degree conferring charter became impossible. His promotion to the Mastership of Peterhouse did not lessen his interest in the University he had helped to found, and he had many opportunities of assisting it with wise counsel.

Dr. Ward was succeeded by Mr. (now Sir) Alfred Hopkinson, K.C., M.P., who had occupied the Chair of Law from 1875 to 1890, and did yeoman service in the drafting of the new charter. After the charter was granted he became its first Vice-Chancellor, and in a very real way helped forward the continuous development of the University.

Meanwhile, Mr. Christie, better known as Chancellor Copley Christie, offered to present the College with a new building for its library, which had been begun fifty years earlier by a donation of 1,200 volumes from Mr. James Heywood, and had been increased year by year both by gifts and purchases.

This building, known as the " Christie Library," was opened in 1898 by the late Duke of Devonshire, on the same day that he laid the foundation stone of the new " Whitworth Hall," another of Mr. Christie's magnificent gifts, this time as legatee of Sir Joseph Whitworth.

The Jubilee of Owens College was marked in 1901 by the opening of the Whitworth Hall by the late King Edward VII. and Queen Alexandra, who were then the Prince and Princess of Wales. It was a great occasion when representatives of science and literature from many universities and learned societies, assembled to join in the commemoration of what had been achieved by the founder, and those who had done so much to carry out his aims.

A few years earlier (in 1895) the extensive Chemical Laboratories had been enlarged in memory of Carl Schorlemmer (who had held from 1874 to 1892 the first Chair of Organic Chemistry to be established in this country), by the addition of the " Schorlemmer Laboratory for Organic Chemistry ". New Physical Laboratories, which were unique in the United Kingdom were opened in 1900. In 1899 the " John Hopkinson Memorial Wing " was founded, in which is installed the electrochemical laboratory and the dynamo house.

In the early days of Owens College its students were drawn

either from Manchester or its immediate surroundings, but as the reputation of the College became more established students were attracted from greater distances to study in Manchester, and the number of students living in lodgings increased to such an extent as to warrant the establishment of halls of residence. Dalton Hall, Hulme Hall, and Ashburne House for Women were opened to meet the need, and supplied a real deficiency, serving also to improve the conditions of academic life in Manchester.

The Federal University of Manchester lasted from 1880 to 1903, and did useful work in stimulating interest, in raising standards, and in widening curricula, but it could not be a real university. Its professors and lecturers deliberated as examiners, not as teachers. It excited no corporate feeling.

In 1903 a new charter was issued, which continued the Victoria University with a revised constitution, and the title, " The Victoria University of Manchester ".

This marked a new epoch, and the life of the reconstituted University has amply justified the claims of its founders, for within a few years it was larger, more progressive in education, and more active in research, than the whole Federal University had been.

The new charter provided for the election of the Chancellor of the University by Convocation (the body of graduates), and it has been singularly fortunate in obtaining for this supreme position persons of rare distinction in public life and in letters. After the death of the first Chancellor, the seventh Duke of Devonshire, who only held this position for one year, Lord Morley of Blackburn, of whom all Lancashire is justly proud as one of her most distinguished sons, was elected to the Chancellorship. He retained it all through the difficult years of the Great War, and until his death in 1923. The University was equally fortunate in obtaining its present Chancellor, the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres. No one is more fitted by his literary gifts, his love of the Arts, and his enthusiasm for the diffusion of culture, to be the head of a great and growing University. Nor does he spare himself to promote its well-being, and is ever ready to preside at its functions and to advocate its claims in the county to which he and the University belong.

The University has been equally fortunate in the succession of scholars who have filled the office of Vice-Chancellor. In 1915 Sir Alfred Hopkinson was succeeded by Sir Henry Miers, who held office until 1926, and left a permanent mark on the University by the establishment of a Department of Chrystallography, of which subject he is a recognised authority. Dr. (afterwards Sir) Walter Moberley wisely guided the upward movement of the University for eight years (1926-35), until his appointment to the Chairmanship of the University Grants Committee caused his removal to London. The present holder of the office, Dr. John S. B. Stopford, M.D., F.R.S., who had occupied the Chair of Anatomy since 1919, was appointed in 1935 to succeed Sir Walter. Dr. Stopford is not only a Lancastrian, but it is surely unique that as an old boy of the Manchester Grammar School he entered the University, and has in unbroken succession passed through the various stages of graduation, membership of the assistant staff, appointment to a University Chair, and later to the Vice-Chancellorship, which is the administrative headship of the University.

The new charter also subdivided the University into faculties : Arts, Science, Law, Medicine, and Music. From the first beginnings of the Owens College, the traditional education in the humanities has been strongly upheld, but it was reproached for laying unpractical stress on ancient learning. Its original students were too young and too unprepared to make specialisation of any sort either practical or desirable. Real progress began with the honours schools in arts. At first the enormous development in science overshadowed the growth of arts, but ten years later the two faculties attained substantial equality in numbers, and post-graduate study was systematically pursued by considerable numbers of students.

Under these conditions the accommodation of the Arts Faculty became quite inadequate for its needs, and the buildings for the Faculty of Arts in Lime Grove was opened in 1919. The aim was to provide every department with a home of its own, like the laboratories of natural science, in which the studies of the Faculty would be pursued under favourable conditions. Within a comparatively short time it was found that the Arts

Building was far from adequate for housing the rapidly growing Faculty of Arts, and it became necessary to requisition several houses in Lime Grove to accommodate some of the overflowing departments.

One of the outstanding departments of this Faculty, and indeed of the University, is the "School of History," which has gained a deservedly high position, and has attracted many research students from other universities. This is due in a large measure to Sir Adolphus Ward, and the indefatigable exertions of the late Professor T. F. Tout, who for thirty-five years was the active head of the Department. By his own researches, as well as those of his students, he built up one of the strongest departments of the University, and one of which the University is justly proud.

Other departments in this Faculty which have added lustre to the University are the Department of English Language and Literature, and that of French and Romance Languages and Literatures, each of which has established a great reputation. Professorships or Lectureships in German, Italian, Spanish and Russian have also been set up.

The Department of Classics has made substantial contributions to classical studies, and has grown considerably in recent years.

With the development of these, and such other departments as that of Semitic Languages and Literatures, and Chinese, it causes no surprise to learn that even the new Arts Building was soon found to be totally inadequate to house the Faculty.

The origins of the Faculty of Medicine, to which reference has already been made, go back to the founding of the Manchester Infirmary in 1752. It was not until 1872 that the Manchester School of Medicine was incorporated with Owens College, but the School flourished so much that it was found necessary some ten years later to add largely to the building assigned to it, and in 1909 the opening of the new Infirmary, on a site closely adjacent to the University, enormously improved the hospital facilities available, the more so as the Infirmary became the centre of a large group of neighbouring clinical institutions, with the Schools of Dentistry and Pharmacy and the important Public Health Laboratory.

From the earliest days of the Owens College the Department of Science has played a leading part, and often a pioneer part, in the erection of laboratories, the training of specialists, the organisation and conduct of research, and the setting up of academic schools of Chemistry, Engineering, Physics, and Natural History. In this respect it has shown the way to other universities, old and new, which have followed in its footsteps.

The result of all this activity and the good fortune of the University in attracting professors of great eminence to direct the studies was, that for many years the Manchester School of Chemistry and Engineering enjoyed something like a monopoly. This monopoly may have passed away, but the schools hold their own with undiminished prestige and increased numbers, and still play their part, not only in the study of pure science, but also in the technical application of science to industry.

The work of the Physics Department has been long recognised as of exceptional importance to the whole academic world.

The " Faculty of Technology " has had assigned to it most of the technical applications of science, of which before its establishment the Faculty of Science had had sole cognisance.

Another department which has fully justified itself is the " Manchester School of Architecture," which is assisted by a joint-committee representative of the University, the City, and the Architectural Profession, working alike in the Schools of Art and Technology, and in the old university buildings, without any overlapping.

Two other faculties were constituted in 1904, soon after the reconstitution of the University. Of these, the " Faculty of Theology," (which was made possible by a generous gift of money from the late Mrs. Rylands) rigidly refuses to impose any test or ask any questions as to religious belief, and is therefore undenominational in character. It differs from the undenominational faculties of Wales and London, which limit themselves to examinations, and hand over the teaching to denominational colleges. The Manchester faculty has provided a staff of theological professors and lecturers, and insists that half the instruction shall be given on the University premises. It has, however, associated itself with the seven Manchester Theological Colleges, representing as

many Christian denominations, and has assigned to them the sole teaching of dogmatics, as well as a portion of the general instruction in less burning subjects.

The " Faculty of Commerce and Administration " is based upon the belief that the theory of business and the conditions underlying it are as capable of academic treatment as any other subject. This view has been abundantly verified since its establishment.

Another department which has won an international reputation is the " Department of Education of the Deaf ". From the first it has done pioneer work, and there is no other centre to compare with it. It is the main source of teachers for the education of the deaf. It has done invaluable research work on hearing-aids. On problems relating to deaf education the help of the staff is being constantly sought by organisations and individuals in this country and abroad. It is only right that the department should have accommodation worthy of its important work, and this is one of the many provisions covered by the appeal.

The Department of Geography of late years has seen considerable developments, as should be the case in a city of such wide commercial ramifications as Manchester. Within recent years it has been raised to the dignity of a Chair.

Philosophy, one of the most abstract of studies, has always flourished in Manchester, due to the eminence of the professors of the subject, and to the interest which Professor Alexander has awakened in philosophical subjects over a long period of years.

At this point it may be said that although some of the newer faculties are concerned in giving students a definitely professional training to become doctors, teachers, lawyers, technicians, and business men, the University has never lost sight of the importance of developing learning and pure science, with which the Owens College commenced its career.

Any sketch of university activities, faculty by faculty, leaves out important points in which faculties overlap or supplement each other. There are many matters outside the purview of a faculty and many others which relate to all alike. The " University Library," for example, is essential to all faculties.

It is the power station of the University, and the University may be justly proud of this Department, which is by far the largest library possessed by any of the newer universities, and includes many excellent special collections obtained by bequest. The recently completed building, designed in accordance with the latest ideals in library planning, has opened out new possibilities for the development of the library's resources for investigation and research. The student now has not merely the appliances essential to his studies, but an atmosphere with a real sense of inspiration which will assist him to carry them on in the loftiest spirit.

Yet another department, which is under the control of the Publications Committee of the Council of the University, and is fraught with great possibilities of usefulness, is the " Manchester University Press ". It has produced a considerable number of works of learning, research and education, and affords a special literary outlet for its teachers and students.

In other ways the University has sought to cater for the educational needs of those who cannot, like the ordinary students, enter its walls. It maintains a flourishing " Extra-Mural Department " which arranges for single lectures or definite courses in various parts of the Manchester area, and it is particularly active in supplying the constantly increasing demand for tutorial classes made by the Workers' Educational Association.

It speaks volumes for the character of the youth of Manchester and the surrounding districts that year after year from five to six thousand evening students fill and much more than fill, the classrooms and laboratories of the College of Technology.

We have already exceeded the number of pages we allotted to ourselves for the purpose of this brief survey of the history of the University, and yet we have done little more than touch the fringe of the subject.

What we have endeavoured to do is to show that the University has enjoyed a vigorous youth, and that, proud as it is of its past history, and of the achievements of its youthful days, it looks forward with equal confidence to further success and usefulness in the years to come.

Hitherto, much of the work has been carried on with resources

barely sufficient for the purpose, and which are now quite inadequate. If the University is to maintain its position of pre-eminence it is essential that the accommodation should be extended not only to meet the present needs of teaching and research, but to provide for future expansion.

The University is a living thing; it is either progressing or retrogressing. As soon as it ceases to grow it begins to decay!

It has been pointed out that many of the newer universities in this country and in the United States have been transferred to beautiful sites, away from the hum and bustle of industry and commerce, but that the site of our University is both smoky and noisy.

That cannot be denied, but it is Manchester's boast that her University is situated within a mile of the centre of the city, and is easy of access to the people who live in the town, as well as to those who come from the neighbouring towns; and what is also of great moment is, that it is easy for the staff of the University to make those contacts with the city which are so important for a civic university.

What needs to be done is to improve our site and buildings, so as to make both the site and the buildings a credit to the area by giving to them spaciousness and dignity, and that is the problem that faces the University authorities.

The appeal which the Council of the University is making is for £300,000 for capital expenditure, and £10,000 in annual subscriptions, which has for its object not only the maintenance of the work that the University is doing, but the development of that which it ought to do.

The various purposes for which the capital sum is needed are estimated as follows:

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| Physical Chemistry Building | £50,000 |
| Extension of Zoology Department | £8,000 |
| Accommodation for Department of Architecture | £30,000 |
| Arts Building Extension | £75,000 |
| Accommodation for Social Sciences | £35,000 |
| New Medical Library | £30,000 |
| Accommodation for Faculty of Music | £6,000 |
| Extension of Laboratory for Surgical Research | £5,000 |
| Accommodation for Department of Education of the Deaf | £15,000 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Extension of Departments of Pathology and Bacteriology | £10,000 |
| Provision for Physical Education | £8,000 |
| Development of Wythenshawe Playing Fields | £25,000 |
| Dental School and Clinic | *The gift of Samuel Turner, Esq.* |

In opening the appeal it was stated that, including the munificent gift of Mr. Samuel Turner of Rochdale, of a new Dental School and Hospital, subscriptions had been promised amounting to almost £150,000, so that half the figure of the capital sum is assured.

Three years ago the Treasurer (Sir E. D. Simon) outlined the urgent needs which were then estimated to cost £200,000. These needs included the rehousing of certain departments and improvement in facilities for the social amenities for students and staff ; a new arts library, the extension of the buildings for the men's and women's unions, the extension of the refectory, the provision of facilities for physical exercise, and a new staff house.

With the exception of the provision for physical training, the whole programme had been carried out at a cost of £100,000.

In making his appeal for further funds, Sir Ernest Simon has allowed imagination to be stimulated by a comparison of Manchester with other of the modern universities. We serve a much wider area than any of them, with a population of four million people, and we are naturally anxious to see our University correspondingly bigger and better. In the matter of staff Manchester fears no comparison, but we have fallen behind in the matter of buildings.

The first intention is to devote some of the money for which appeal is being made to the improvement of the conditions of the staff, so that the best people can be attracted ; and to render the buildings worthy of the district, and worthy of the people it is hoped to attract to the University.

Now that the new Arts Library has been completed, the contrast with the surrounding slum property reveals the need for a clearance of the remaining part of the site whereon to erect buildings to form a harmonious whole : to make of the Lime Grove area a noble quadrangle in keeping with the dignity of the University.

It has been suggested that a Friends of the University Movement might well be organised on the lines of what is being done by some of the American universities through the organisation of their alumni. This would provide an excellent foundation to the appeal in general, and we commend the idea to the numbers of graduates of Manchester who are to be found in every quarter of the globe.

We reproduce the terms of the printed appeal, which we commend to our readers.

> Accordingly, the University appeals with confidence for generous help, both for capital sums and for annual subscriptions, in the belief that every section of the community will wish to make some contribution. While the more urgent need is capital for building and equipment, annual subscriptions for maintenance will be equally welcome. The order in which the University must meet its several needs must depend on their relative urgency and other circumstances ; and it will be most helpful if contributions given in response to this appeal are not ear-marked for special purposes, but a discretion left to the University to apply them as a comprehensive policy requires. The figures quoted above will give some idea of the approximate expenditure involved.
>
> Contributions may be paid either in a single sum or spread over a number of years. Where a donor makes a contribution by way of an annual subscription for a period of not less than seven years, the University may recover from the Inland Revenue Authorities the Income Tax paid by the donor on the annual subscription.
>
> Contributions and promises may be sent to the Vice-Chancellor, The University, Manchester 13.

# RICHARD ROLLE AND A BISHOP: A VINDICATION.

By E. J. F. ARNOULD, M.A., Ph.D., L-ès-L.

LECTURER IN FRENCH IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

DURING the last forty years, a number of scholars have thrown new light on the writings of Richard Rolle of Hampole, and largely succeeded in restoring their true character to the man and his works. Foremost among them must be counted Horstmann, who did a great deal of pioneering work by publishing Rolle's English writings, at the same time going through most of the Latin ones, and copiously quoting from them in a concise and well-informed preface.[1] Miss Hope Emily Allen has done even more, first by showing that, in all probability, the *Prick of Conscience*—so unrepresentative of Rolle and yet long regarded as his chief, or even his only, work—had been rashly or wrongly fathered upon him; then, by establishing the canon of Rolle's works with a remarkable thoroughness and contributing, under the modest title of "Materials for Rolle's biography," a wealth of searching studies on every important point in Rolle's life which form an account of him that no later scholar can afford to ignore, or may hope to surpass.[2]

In one case, however, Horstmann has laid a kind of stigma on the saintly hermit's character, and no subsequent scholar has so far questioned his views on this point. Horstmann's opinion was based on a single text, a passage from what is probably the most typical of Rolle's works, yet still unpublished, the *Melum Contemplativorum* or *Melos Amoris*.[3]

[1] C. Horstmann, *Yorkshire Writers. Richard Rolle of Hampole and His Followers*, London, I, 1895; II, 1896 (Preface in vol. II).

[2] H. E. Allen, *Writings ascribed to Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole, and Materials for his Bibliography* (P.M.L.A.; Monograph Series III), 1927.

[3] The title intended for this treatise by the author himself was "Postillae de gloria et perfectione sanctorum": see Ch. V (fol. 3v in Sloane 2275). The abbreviated form *Melum* first used by Horstmann and retained since is very

The object of the following pages is to review the interpretation hitherto put on that passage, and it is hoped that Rolle's character will thereafter appear in a still truer—and a better—light.

Horstmann,[1] after quoting from Rolle's repeated invectives against corrupted clergy, secular and regular, introduces the incriminating passage as follows : " He so, leaning on his mission by God, challenges his own bishop : ' Ecce juvenis, zelo animatus justitiae, insurgit contra senem, *heremita contra episcopum*, et contra omnes taliter opinantes qui in quantumcumque exterioribus actibus supereminentia(*m*) affirmant esse sanctitatis ' (Mel.)." [2]

With this interpretation, Miss Allen is definitely inclined to concur, as may be seen from two passages in her large work on Rolle. In the second of these she says : " This—*i.e.*, the above—passage would seem (from the context) to indicate that Rolle's conflict with the bishop was involved in that with his monkish enemies : probably his irregular life was reported by the monks to the bishop. . . ." [3] In the first reference, she is more explicit

unsatisfactory. Despite the fact that it appears in the heading of a number of MSS., it is presumably a barbarism for " mel." No instance of *melum* in this sense is recorded either by Du Cange or by the Medieval Latin Word-list published under the patronage of the British Academy. Rolle, however, uses it thus occasionally. The following proverb which occurs in a manuscript collection of the John Rylands Library shows both the equivalence of " melum " to " mel " and its distinction from " melos " which, alone, befits a work where the famous *canor* is so prominent :

" Est melos estque melum cantus recte vocitatum (*sic*)."

(*A Medieval Collection of Latin and English Proverbs and Riddles, from the Rylands Latin MS.* 394, by W. A. Pantin, 1930, p. 13, no. 7). As for the sense ' pomarium ' recorded in Du Cange, it appears nowhere in Rolle.

More decisive still, *melos* is the word used throughout the work itself : in the B.M. MS. Sloane 2275, which is probably the best and will be quoted from here, as well as in St. John's College, Cambridge, MS. 23, which has been used for collation, there are only two instances of *melum* (in Chaps. XXXV and LV) against more than fifty of *melos*. Therefore the latter is far better, and shall be used here.

[1] Horstmann, *op. cit.*, II, xxii.

[2] Horstmann has the objectionable habit of giving none but the vaguest references. The reading " supereminentiam " is supplied from Sloane 2275. " Supereminentia," an obvious mistake, given by Horstmann, is the reading of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, MS. 193, and one may infer from this fact that it was the MS. read by Horstmann. He mentions this MS. elsewhere.

[3] H. E. Allen, *Writings . . .*, p. 481.

still: "The long quotation just made—*viz.*, the same passage with the few lines following—shows that Richard Rolle made an article of faith of the obligation of obedience to God alone, and it shows that he does not accept even the bishop's right to interpret this point. . . . This passage in the *Melum* may perhaps give us a hint that Richard in his early years came into collision with the bishop on this subject." [1]

Rolle is thus taxed, among other things, with open rebellion against a diocesan authority. And on the foundation of those few words has been built up the figure which all studies, however sympathetic, present of him: [2] that of a voluntary outlaw in the ecclesiastical world of his time, emulating the boldest of reformers, in fact, a potential schismatic.

It would not be irrelevant to point out here how such an attitude is in contradiction with Rolle's usual regard for constituted authorities in the Church, his conduct, supremely unconventional as it was, being nevertheless always reconcilable with discipline, just as his theological tenets, in intention at least, comply with orthodoxy.[3] But, for the right understanding of the passage, only a reference to its context is necessary, and a short analysis of the chapter in which it occurs will show that the true meaning is both plain and quite different from that hitherto proposed.

Incidentally, the quotation will be of interest as an illustration of a particular aspect of Rolle's style. Of the characteristics of

[1] H. E. Allen, *Writings* . . . , p. 327. See also p. 482: "The passages in the *Melum* that hint at Rolle's persecutions suggest that they came from more than one quarter. Three sources have been noted, *viz.*, Dalton . . . , monks either of Rievaulx or of Byland (more probably the former), *and a bishop*."

[2] Dom Noetinger alone refuses to accept this interpretation of the passage, on the grounds of its uniqueness and of its opposition to Rolle's spirit. (See the valuable Introduction to his French translation of the *Incendium Amoris* in Mame's collection *Les Mystiques Anglais*, 1928, p. xliv, n. 1). These two reasons, though rather negative, are very sound and, at least corroborate the positive evidence afforded by the *Melos* itself, which Dom Noetinger apparently knew only from the quotations given by Horstmann and Miss Allen.

[3] A definite reservation must be made, however, in the case of his orthodoxy. On the thorny problem of predestination Rolle, in his expressions at least, does not seem to have always kept clear of the path of heresy. This and other points relating to Rolle's character and doctrine will be dealt with at length in a general work on Rolle now in preparation as well as a critical edition of the *Melos*.

this style which have been pointed out, two are particularly constant: the lack of continuity in the exposition, and a use of alliteration carried to the utmost limits of ingenuity. These are especially conspicuous in the whole *Melos*. It happens, however, that Rolle occasionally departs from his usual manner and, while he develops some idea or doctrinal point with calmness, even with a methodical order strongly reminiscent of the methods taught by the School and resorted to by medieval theologians, he also abandons that curious yet sometimes wonderfully effective process, alliteration. Such is particularly the case when the mystic comes down from his rapturous panegyric of *dulcor*, *calor*, *canor*, to encounter some opponent in the theological lists: he then feels the need to fight him with his own arms and speak the same language. The following extract offers an excellent instance of this. Alliteration is there comparatively little used. It will be seen that it is altogether absent from the strictly argumentive pieces, but reappears in the second part where the hermit indulges once more in the description of his mystical experiences. One cannot expect Rolle to keep up the Scholastic style very long. Such as it is, however, the chapter, in its essential portion, can be divided up in the usual manner of theological treatises of the time.[1]

SCRIPTURAL TEXT, *with brief commentary*:

Ecce elongavi fugiens et mansi in solitudine (Ps. LIV, 8).
Solitarius jam sisto securus salute: sufficit solacium quod sencio ex summis; nam suavitas sonora sustentat sedentem, ut lugubris non laberer dire desolacioni nec ad ocium inducerer aut cure carnali: sic ardoris Opulentis alligat amantem.

THE THESIS FORMULATED: *Contemplative life in solitude is the highest grade in spiritual elevation*:

Et nota diligenter actiones sanctorum, quomodo transmigrant a Babilone in Hierusalem:

(1) Primo, renunciant omnibus que possident.
(2) Deinde, solis celestibus intenti, in amorem Conditoris succenduntur.
(3) Tertio, cum jam increatum dulcorem gustaverint, tanta aviditate illis angelicis choris interesse inardescunt quod nulla adversitate, nulla blandimentorum mollicie, ab interno aspectu queant separari.

[1] The division into paragraphs, the punctuation, references, etc., are not, of course, in the MS. The first part of the chapter (from Sloane 2275 designated as *S*) has been collated with the St. John's College MS. (designated as *J*) and a few variants added from it in the second part.

(4) Quarto, pre nimietate gaudii et magnitudine amoris qua implentur, sonum in se suscipiunt celestem et divina armonia obumbrantur et fugiunt in solitudinem ne ab illo spirituali canore impediantur. Hii sunt viri contemplativi solitarii summi : nullus equari eis potest in perfectione et gloria.

**Et per [1] hoc probatur non nullos etiam qui docti videntur penitus ignorasse contemplative vite eminentiam, qui ideo volunt monachos maximi meriti esse dignos [2] et Deum (precipue) [3] diligere quia vivunt sub abbate.**

Discussion.

I. *Authorities.*

(1) *In support of the thesis : Scripture and the Fathers :*

(*a*) *Luke, IX*, 46 : Et hec verba multi religiosi assumunt in testimonium, disputantes (facta contentione) : [4] " Quis nostrum videatur esse major ? "

(*b*) *Augustine :* Augustinus vero non dixit obedientiarios optimos esse,[5] sed dixit quod non invenit meliores quam qui in monasteriis [6] profecerunt.

(*c*) *Matth. XI*, 12 : Et Christus, cum laudaret Iohannem, non dixit : " Inter natos mulierum optimus est," [7] sed : " Non surrexit major Iohanne Baptista " ; quia forsitan ita magnus erit quispiam qui nondum natus est, sed major nullus erit. Indiscussum est.

**(2) Against the thesis : St. Anslem's opinion (to be confuted) : Ergo, in quod sic Anselmus ait (vel de similibus) [8] ultra se presumpsit, ostendens aperte quod et ipse in monte non stetit qui esset superior ut valeret discernere qui ardentiores existunt in amore.**

II. *Rational argument.* Ratio revera indicat quod qui minus in exterioribus negociis occupantur, in internis desideriis amplius inardescunt.[9]

(*Similiter et omnes qui illa verba ut vera accipient per hec nituntur probare se Deum precipue diligere. Protinus probabuntur amoris magnitudinem et misterium ignorare. Quapropter iste liber factus est de eminentibus amatoribus Dei ut, dum legitur, presumentes et superbientes confundantur, qui frustra jam altiora arguunt se arripuisse [10] qui adhuc minora nescierunt invenire.*)

Accedo ergo [11] ad assumptum et patebit propositum.

[1] *J* = propter. [2] *J* = maximi meriti monachos dignos esse.
[3] Supplied from *J*.
[4] Supplied from *J* (*S* has : ficta intentione. . . . Quis vestrum).
[5] *J* = esse optimos. [6] *J* = monasterio. [7] *J* = esse.
[8] *J* = om (see p. 67). [9] *J* = inardescant.
[10] *J* = jam arguunt altiora se arripuisse. [11] *J* = Accedo igitur.

III. *Arguments of fact.*

(1) *Rolle's own experience :* Nimirum hoc quod novi nuntio, nam omnis melodia mundialis, omnis corporalis musica instrumentis organicis machinata, quantumcumque activis viris et secularibus negotiis implicatis placuerit, sanctis profecto contemplativis desiderabilia non erunt. Imo, hoc audeo annectere [1] quia fervore fruentes dulciflua dilectionis, fremitum fugiunt et, canoro capti jubilo, eciam solennia psallentium [2] audiunt invite, utpote qui jam sonum suscipiunt celicum, clamori corporali ulterius non concordant.

Activi utique in exterioribus exultant [3] organis. Nos, contemplatione Creatoris succensi, suaviter in sono epulantis terrena transvolamus. Illi nostrum nesciunt gaudium, nos illorum pneuma [4] nequimus, quia dum intra nos delicias divinas sonora voce jubilantes canimus, ab omnibus profecto psallentibus ac loquentibus cupimus segregari. Alioquin jam desinimus canere atque ab illa invisibilis melodie affluentia cessare ut, dum ab illis corporaliter perstrepentibus non fugimus, veraciter discamus quia nemo unquam in amore Dei gaudere potuit nisi qui vana istius mundi solacia recte reliquit.

Hinc liquet summus gradus amoris Dei, nam pre magno amore ardoreque [5] divinitus dato sanctissimus amator in canticum confluit et jam quasi in celo positus,[6] undique ineffabili armonia et laude ludiflua cum tactu [7] tinnulo septum se sentit. Et hoc utique, quod non audet aliquis sane mentis abnegare, in solitudine contingit, non in congregatione.

(2) *The example of the Fathers :* Unde antiquitus solebant plerique perfectiores a monasteriis exire in aliquem locum solitudinis, ut liberius canore vacarent contemplacioni(s).

*—contrasted with present-day monks :* Et jam nulli exeunt : omnes amant solacium hominum. Ideo, sine dubio, visitatione carent [8] angelorum. Ita placent eis sonus exterior et sollempnitas corporis quod parum vel nihil curant de sono spirituali aut de sollempnitate mentis. Siquidem, quod pejus est, in ociositate indurantur in tantum quod in devocionem [9] nequeant assurgere, nec putant se posse majorem gratiam invenire.

CONCLUSION.

(*Defiant address to his opponents and bold assertion of the justness of his opinion*) :

Erubescite deinceps et tacete : confundimini enim in argumentis vestris,

[1] *J* = admittere (?).
[2] *J* = psallentium sollempnia.
[3] *J* = exultent.
[4] *J* = neupma.
[5] *J* = amore et dulcore.
[6] *J* = quasi indifferenter, p. .
[7] Sic *J* (*S* = tacto).
[8] *J* = carent visitatione.
[9] *J* = devotione.

ostendentes vosmetipsos amantissimos Dei penitus non cognoscere et altum divini amoris arcanum funditus ignorare. Quid agitis cum omnibus vestris litteris quas a primeva etate didicistis? Quid prosunt vobis, dum nescitis quid loquimini? Omnes vos consolatores onerosi [1] estis. Scientia inflat, caritas autem edificat:

**Ecce enim zelo justitie juvenis animatus insurgit contra senem, heremita contra episcopum et contra omnes taliter opinantes qui in quantumcumque exterioribus actibus supereminentiam affirmant esse sanctitatis.**

(*Summary of his views on the question*): Emulamini carismata meliora: labor corporalis ad modicum valet, pietas autem ad omnia. Sed ais: "Melior est obediencia quam victime."—Sed vere hoc pro me est, quia nihil Deo est acceptabilius quam ipsi obedire in omnibus. Qui enim Deo obediencior est, et coram Deo est major. Sed non sequitur: iste est obedientissimus homini, ergo obedientissimus est Deo. Deo enim solo amore obedimus: ergo qui ardenciori amore Deo infigitur, Deo obedientissimus esse probatur. Potest autem quis homini obediens apparere [2] et tamen Deo omino contrarius esse. Monachi ergo vel alii in habitu religionis constituti sancti non sunt in quantum superioribus obediunt, sed in quantum fervore sancte dilectionis soli Deo servire contendunt.

The rest of the chapter mainly consists of a diffuse and somewhat rambling continuation of the same subject with much repetition, after Rolle's true manner. It is quoted here for the sake of completeness, and also because it provides an instance of another favourite attitude of Rolle's, in his appeal to God's judgment against all contradiction:

Quamobrem considerent religiosi intima sua et libros [3] patrum suorum et inspiciant diligenter si inveniant aliquam eminentem prerogativam de eterno amore inter eos qui manserunt in congregatione, quam non possumus nos ostendere qui fugimus et mansimus in solitudine.

Porro, si non inveniant, ut quid frustra se exaltant, dicentes: "Propter obedientiam quam prepositis exhibemus, inter omnes ordines Ecclesie in meritis majores sumus," [4] sicut comnuniter dicunt?

Sed sciant pro certo quod qui vere Deum diligit nequaquam hoc [5] dicit. Insipidi et sine calore caritatis per argumenta contendunt vincere quod bene vivendo nolunt perpetrare.

Contestor ergo cuntis christianis quod omnis vere amator Christi et vir contemplativus quietem, silencium, secretum, solitudinem desiderat, non discurrere, non inter cantantes sedere, non multis misceri, non alloquiis detineri,

[1] Sic *J* (*S* = onerati).
[2] *J* = potest autem quis homini parere.
[3] Sic *J* (*S* = librum).
[4] *J* omits: inter omnes ordines Ecclesie in meritis majores sumus.
[5] Sic *J* (*S* omits "hoc").

non audire sonitum corporalem. Qui sic perfectius ageret, signum est quod Deum perfectius amaret. Nam ad interna intuenda et canenda tanto amore rapitur quod deinceps jam in exterioribus non delectatur. Nimirum ex insania mentis hoc procedere videtur, si quis asseruerit tantum posse hominem Deum diligere in motione sicut in quiete. Amor enim est desiderium cordis in id quod amat jugiter intendens cum delectatione ; et cum habet quod amat, tunc gaudet et tanto amplius majori gloria se reficit quanto veracius amatum sentit. Deus vero qui est summum gaudium et omnis deliciarum plenitudo, sine gaudio et deliciis etiam in hoc seculo a sanctis non habetur. Unde et nonnulli precellentes sancti, quia inestimabili dilectionis fervore Christum complectuntur in via positi, gloriam patrie, quamvis tamen nondum perfecte, susceperunt. Sed hoc non contingit inter cantantes et tumultuantes et disputantes in congregatione, ut superius declaratum est, sed quibus inspiratum est ab Omnipotenti Deo ut libenter sustineant penitentiam solitudinis et deinde delectentur sedendo in simphonia celica et in suavitate carminis, canori jubilo jocundissimo jugiter se ingerente.

Ex his ergo concluditur quod anhelanti in gloria celesti eminere potior est solitudo quam congregatio, presertim cum majori gracia amoris, scilicet divini, dulcedine replentur in presenti, et in futuro coram vultu Conditoris propius assistentes gloriosiores et clariores coronantur, utpote qui propter ardentissimums amorem quo estuebant, in se Factoris sui majorem similitudinem impressam representant. Quanto enim plus quis amat, tanto Deo similior est ; imaginem autem Dei non reformat in nobis aliqua racio exterior, sed solus eternitatis intus ardens amor.

Si quis tamen verbis meis contradicere non timuerit, ad Autorem appello, qui juste judicans cuntorum merita disponit. Quoniam, si proferam judices, quamvis de hac causa sciant judicare, non acceptabuntur. Nam raro autentica est pauperis persona et fit communiter quod, quanquam verum dicat, non auditur. Quippe si divites et prelatos de hac re constituam judices, timeo ne timore vel favore corrumpantur, aut forsitan secularibus implicati actibus et subditis suis servientes, in magno amoris monte non sederent, ut omnem gradum recte discernant. Et revera stultitia videretur si quis de hac re se interponeret quam nesciret, sicut turpe est advocato ignorare jus circa quod versatur : omnia enim debet scire qui de omnibus habet judicare.

Deus ergo qui non est acceptor personarum, qui nec fallit nec fallitur, quem nulla latet cogitatio, qui et reddet unicuique juxta opera sua, cui de occultis pertinet judicium, ipse judex noster erit. Ergo de vultu tuo, Domine Jesu, judicium meum prodeat ; oculi tui videant equitates. Tibi utique adquiesco inspiranti ut amans efficiar, qui facis quod desidero loquens quod audire gaudens fio.

The mere presentation of the complete text suffices to show that what we have here is not a tilt at a personal enemy, not even a dispute on a matter of discipline, but a technical controversy on a point of doctrine frequently debated in medieval

times, *viz.*, the respective values of the purely contemplative and of the active lives, under the particular aspect of a comparison between the conventual life under a superior and the solitary life of the hermit responsible to God alone. The " elder," the " bishop " referred to is none other than St. Anselm, whose utterances on the question had evidently been used in support of the views held by Rolle's adversaries. There is throughout the passage a perfect continuity of purpose, feeling, and tone and Rolle, not content with meeting his opponents on the controversial ground, proves so convinced of the rightness of his opinion that he unhesitatingly taxes with lack of experience of, and competence in, mystical matters those, however great they may be, who dare think otherwise, Anselm himself, a Father of the Church, a bishop, not being excepted.

This obvious explanation does away with the difficulties under which the old interpretation was labouring. For instance, with the persistent desire to elucidate all matters connected with Rolle that has led her to so many felicitous results, Miss Allen, once having taken up Horstmann's view, tried to identify the " bishop " among Rolle's contemporaries, and she very naturally surmised that he would be the Ordinary of Rolle's diocese. She found, however, on the one hand, that " Louis Beaumont, bishop of Durham at the time, could not have been the learned bishop in question here, for his illiteracy was notorious " ;[1] on the other hand, the registers of Melton then archbishop of York, contain no intimation of a disciplinary measure having been taken against our hermit, whereas, under the date of 5th August, 1334, there is mentioned " an order forbidding anyone to listen to the teaching of friar Henry de Staunton, hermit." [2] Failing this, Miss Allen thought archbishop Melton might have brought Rolle's denunciation upon himself by the fact that he was a pluralist, and endowed with several secular dignities. But he

[1] H. E. Allen, *Writings . . .*, p. 482.

[2] *Cf.* Horstmann, *op. cit.*, II, xxiv, quoting from Raine, *Fasti Eboracenses*, p. 421. The " ready supposition " by Horstmann that this hermit was " a disciple or follower of R. Rolle " (*ibid.*) is only one of several gratuitous inferences from the wrong interpretation of the same passage in the *Melos*. In fact, one would be as justified in regarding the delinquent as a rival of Rolle and one of those referred to in his frequent outbursts against " religious " enemies.

was also " of conspicuous purity and integrity," and this would undoubtedly, in the eyes of Rolle, have redeemed a vice which was more a vice of the times than that of an individual ; and although the bishop pluralist would naturally come under Rolle's general—and impersonal—indictment of such delinquents, there is nothing in archbishop Melton's case to justify a personal attack otherwise unique in Rolle's extant writings. Besides, as shown above, the reason for the present onset is completely different.

## II

Curiously enough, Anselm's formulations of his views on the active and contemplative lives are remarkably scarce in his extant works, as compared with those of other Fathers, especially of the great monastic leaders. Even when he comments upon the gospel on Martha and Mary, the most common basis for a disquisition on the respective merits of the two lives, he manages to avoid the usual interpretation and simply refers to the Virgin Mary as embodying the virtues of both sisters.[1] In many of his Epistles he urges friends to enter some religious order.[2] To his monks he preaches on the virtues of obedience.[3] But never is there any decided implication of the inferiority of the solitary life as such.

In fact, young Anselm had for a time contemplated entering on that kind of life. He sought the advice of Lanfranc, then abbot of Le Bec, who referred him to Maurilius, archbishop of Rouen. The latter pointed out to him that the monastic life was by far the safest, and thus it was that Anselm chose to become a " regular " under Lanfranc himself.[4]

There is, among the *Orationes* of St. Anselm, a kind of inter-

[1] Homel, IX, *In Ev. sec. Lucam* " *Intravit Jesus in quoddam castellum* " (P. L. CLXXX, viii).

[2] *E.g.*, Epist. XXIX, *Ad Henricum, ut quantocius mundum relinquat.*

[3] *E.g.*, *Tractatus de pace et concordia*, Ch. II, " *De obedientia prelatis exhibenda* " (P. L. CLVII, 1018).

[4] Eadmeri, *De Vita Anselmi*, Lib. I (P. L. CLVIII, 53). He thus submitted his case to Lanfranc : " Quae tria sic exposuit : Aut enim, inquit, monachus fieri volo, aut eremi cultor esse desidero, aut ex proprio patrimonio vivens, quibuslibet indigentibus propter Deum pro meo posse exinde ministrare, si consulitis, cupio." And the answer was : " Nec mora, monachicus ordo prae ceteris laudatur, ejusque propositum omnibus aliis antefertur."

pretation of Matthew XI, 11 sq., the text relating to John the Baptist which Rolle mentions as misunderstood by his adversaries. This occurs in a " Prayer to St. John the Baptist," and reads : " Thou art he of whom the Lord said : Among them that are born of women there has not risen a greater. To thee, so great, so holy, so blessed, to thee I come, a wretch, a worm, etc. . . ." [1] If, as is barely possible, Rolle refers to this paraphrases of the words of Christ by St. Anselm, as among the Scriptural authorities put forward by his opponents, one must admit that it would have little weight in the controversy.

When Rolle, a little further, turns to the value of obedience, he still probably has in view some argument of the monks based on a quotation of St. Anselm. No more concise formula, at any rate, could be found for their contention than the following words from his 50th Epistle : " Humilior autem qui et Deo, et homini propter Deum, se humiliat, quam qui soli Deo et non humanae jussioni se humiliat. Ergo qui se humiliat exaltabitur ; qui se magis humiliat magis exaltabitur." [2] To infer from this passage the superiority, as a means of spiritual elevation, of the conventual over the solitary life, is obviously to draw a conclusion which far exceeds the premises.

But neither of these texts is formal enough to justify a thorough going attack as the present one, and the lack of a definite reference —perhaps only apparent, as will be seen below—or, at any rate, the absence of a full quotation would imply that the main, or only, text from Anselm impeached by Rolle was well known by the monks and had even already been the occasion of a similar conflict. As a matter of fact, there occurs in Rolle's Commentary on the Canticles (another eminently representative work of his, also only partly printed) a passage which, although less discursive, bears a striking resemblance to the one quoted above : [3]

A monastic vocation, Rolle there contends, is not a sign of God's predilection, and a man living in the world or in solitude may reach as high a degree of sanctity as a monk :

[1] *Oratio ad S. Joan. Bapt.* (Oratio LXII, P. L. CLVIII, 969).

[2] P. L. CLVIII, 969.

[3] The quotation is from Lat. MS. 395 in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, fol. 10.

" Christus vero qui de omni genere hominum vult aliquos salvos fieri,[1] nequaquam sic disposuit ut illos solos pre omnibus aliis diligat quos ad religionis regulas vocavit. Sed ipse qui bonum et sanctum in congregatione monachorum quemquam dignatur agere, etiam nonnumquam aliquem in mundo existentem vel in solitudine sedentem non minori sanctitate aperte videbitur demonstrare."

Therefore Anselm was wrong in preaching that monks display a greater love for God by offering Him " both the tree and its fruits " :

**" Presumpsit autem Anselmus docere monachos ideo eos plus quam aliquis secularis Deum diligere, quia fructum et arborem Deo volebant sub abbate offerre. Sed profecto consequentia illa improbabitur quando veritas aperietur. Nam videtur Anselmus ibi magis blandiens monachis quam veritatem sequens."**

Then, after a beginning of proof from experience, comes the inevitable assertion of confidence in his own experience so frequent with Rolle and, in this case, not unlike the " heremita contra episcopum " in its terms :

" Ego Richardus utique solitarius, heremita vocatus, hoc quod novi assero, quoniam ille ardentius Deum diligit qui igne Sancti Spiritus succensus, a strepitu mundi et ab omni corporali sono quantum potest discedit."

And, a little further down, this summing up and conclusion :

" Hinc igitur colligitur quod contemplatio est jubilus divini amoris, suscepto in mente sono celice melodie vel cantico laudis eterne. Cum igitur constet vitam contemplativam digniorem esse et magis meritoriam quam activam vitam et omnes viros contemplativos solitudinem amantes et precipue in amore divino ferventes, liquet profecto quod non monachi vel alii quicumque ad congregationem collecti summi sunt aut maxime Deum diligunt, sed solitarii contemplatione sublimati qui, pre magno eterni amoris gaudio quod senciunt, in solitudine sedere incessanter concupiscunt."

The quotation from St. Anselm referred to here in far more explicit terms is to be found in the series of images or allegories used by him and collected by Eadmer, his biographer, under the title " Eadmeri liber de S. Anselmi similitudinibus." [2] The most important passage runs as follows :

" Cujus igitur horum obsequium domino illi (*i.e.*, to their master) magis videtur acceptum ? An illius qui, quando quantumque voluerit, dat ei de fructu

[1] This is one striking instance of the dangerous wording of Rolle's views on Predestination referred to above, p. 57, n. 3.

[2] P. L. CLIX, 655, Cap. LXXXIV, *Similitudo inter arborem et monachum.*

propriae arboris? Vel illius qui arborem et fructum totaliter offert? Immo magis illius qui arborem totam dat ei cum fructu. Sic ergo servitium monachi Deo est magis acceptum quam hominis secularis."

The fact that the tone is slightly less aggressive here than in the *Melos*, added to the absence in the latter of any quotation of St. Anselm's words—as though the monks would, as a matter of course, know what Rolle was alluding to—may well indicate that the attack in the *Melos* was but the second episode of a quarrel which had originated earlier.

A further clue to the chronology of the dispute is provided by a close examination of the manuscripts. The sentence of the *Melos* in which St. Anselm is named reads as follows :[1]

" Ergo in hoc quod Anselmus ait, *vel de similibus*, ultra se presumpsit, ostendens aperte quod et ipse in monte non stetit," etc.

The words " vel de similibus " obviously do not fit well in the text. And it seems a safe conjecture to suppose that the three words are a misreading for either " videlicet de similitudinibus," or " ubi de s." or perhaps " vide de s.". It has been pointed out above that the words of St. Anselm quoted and criticised by Rolle in his *Canticles* are found in a work entitled *De Similitudinibus*. A scribe would easily mistake a hastily written—perhaps interlinear—abbreviation of " videlicet " (vꝫ), or of " ubi " (ũ), or of " vide " (v), for that of " vel " (v') ; and the abbreviated forms of " similibus " and " similitudinibus " might also be easily confused.

Confirmation of this conjecture is provided by a comparison of the text in the various manuscripts. Out of nine MSS. containing this passage, five, at least, omit the words " vel de similibus." They are :

Oxford : Bodl. 861 ; Corpus Christi College 192.
Cambridge : St. John's College, 23.
Dublin : Trinity College 159.
Hereford : Cathedral library O. VIII, 1.

Four have the words, *viz.* :

Oxford : Lincoln College 89.
British Museum : Sloane 2275 (quoted above).

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 59.

Cambridge : Emmanuel College 35.

Lincoln : Cathedral library 209.

(But among these, Emmanuel College 35 has the words interlined in another hand, with a now illegible marginal note referring to the addition.)

Trier (Stadtbibliothek) 685 and Upsala (University library) C I do not contain the passage. Douai 396 is also fragmentary.

It does seem, therefore, a fair conjecture to suppose that those three words were meant to be a reference to the *De Similitudinibus* and were added by some scribe to the original. We know for certain, at least, that one corrector has worked on Sloane 2275.

So that, in all probability, in the *Melos* as well as in the *Canticles*, Rolle was impugning an interpretation of one and the same text from St. Anselm, *viz.*, the passage quoted from Eadmer's excerpts from Anselm's writings or *dicta*. Miss Allen gives excellent reasons for ascribing the *Melos* to the first years of Rolle's life as a hermit. But it is equally probable that the *Canticles* were composed at an early state of his mystical career. One may well imagine that he would rather start by writing a Scriptural commentary of that kind—a stock subject in mystical literature—than by undertaking a treatise as novel as the *Melos*. These and other considerations—such as the terms " heremita vocatus " which seem to imply that his position as a hermit was only beginning to be recognised—may help to place the two passages in relation to each other. One may suppose, for instance, that the challenge, first thrown out in the *Canticles*, was taken up by the monks, and that the passage in the *Melos* is a fresh outburst by the hermit goaded into a more combative mood by their reply. The whole *Melos* may even have been written with the express purpose of vindicating Rolle's position. This seems clearly indicated by what he says there :

" Quapropter iste liber factus est de eminentibus amatoribus Dei ut, dum legitur, presumentes et superbientes confundantur qui frustra alciors jam arguunt se arripuisse qui adhuc minora nesciunt invenire."

And, in an effort to trace the quarrel further back yet, it may be conjectured that the unconventional behaviour of the youthful convert—such as it is described in the *Office*, for instance—had, first of all, provoked some remarks by the monks, which in turn brought down the aggressive retort in the *Canticles*. Be that as

it may, one essential fact is certain: no canonical authority appears involved in the dispute, and therefore no imputation of insubordination can be attached on Rolle on the strength of the passage here discussed.

## III

It is only fair, however, to go one step further and seek what were the respective merits of the parties in the debate, and particularly how Rolle stood in regard to the traditional opinion on this matter. For, after all, if nothing could be alleged in support of his views but his own assertions, he could scarcely escape the reproach of self-confidence and vanity, those very perils so often denounced as inherent in the solitary life.

A *prima facie* case could easily be made against Rolle, for the monks could hardly be expected to take up a different position in the controversy. To whatever order they may have belonged, and all the more so if they were the Cistercians of Byland or Rievaulx, as Miss Allen thinks, they were only upholding a basic idea of the founder of the Benedictine order, whose rule was an inspiration for all those that were subsequently elaborated in Western monasteries.[1] At the beginning of his *Rule*,[2] St. Benedict enumerates four kinds of monks:

(1) "Cenobites, that is the conventional kind, who fight under the leadership of a rule or abbot." [3]

(2) "Anchorites or Hermits: who, having learnt to fight against the Fiend not in the initial fervour of their conversion, but during a long probation in a monastery, have thus been, in the ranks of their brothers, instructed for the singular combat in solitude and are henceforth able, in spite of the lack of the consolation afforded by companionship, to withstand the corruption

[1] St. Benedict's rule was prescribed for use in all monasteries by the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle in 817. Either in its original form or in the adaptation made from it, at about the same date, by Benedict of Aniane under the title of *Codex regularum monasticarum* (P. L. CIII, 423-702), it became "the monastic code from which all legislators or reformers of monasteries drew" (P. Pourrat, *La Spiritualité chrétienne*, 1921, vol. I, p. 417).

[2] Chap. I, *De generibus et vita monachorum* (P. L. LXVI, 245).

[3] "Primum, coenobitarum: hoc est monasteriale, militans sub regula vel abbate."

of the flesh and of vicious thoughts single-handed, with the help of God." [1]

(3) Those whom he calls "Sarabaites," that "worst kind of monks who, living alone or in small groups, have no rule but their own passions." [2]

(4) The "girovagi," those wandering friars who were to become a social plague during the Middle Ages, and were the butts of Chaucer's satire and of many another writer's denunciations, Rolle himself among them. And he thus concludes this first chapter, which serves as an introduction to the *Rule*: "Omitting the latter—*i.e.*, the last three kinds of monks—let us now, with the help of God, deal with the mightier kind, the monks living in monasteries." [3]

This designation of the Cenobites—"fortissimum genus"—together with the gradation established by Benedict between his four kinds of monks seem, at first sight, to afford justification to the view held by Rolle's opponents on the comparative merits of the conventual and the solitary lives. Their experience, too, as well as the history of Western monachism through the previous centuries—and especially since the time of St. Benedict—could confirm them in their belief. For, soon after the heroic era of Thebaids and stylites, the condition of monks had undergone a thorough transformation and finally taken the form of community life. This transformation had been, to a large extent, conditioned by the extension of Christianity itself. Popes and bishops did not hesitate to draw on that treasure of faith and

[1] "Deinde, secundum genus est anachoretarum, *i.e.*, heremitarum, horum qui non conversionis fervore initio, sed monasterii probatione diuturna, didicerunt contra diabolum, multorum solatio jam docti, pugnare; et bene instructi fraterna ex acie ad singularem pugnam eremi, securi jam sine consolatione alterius, sola manu vel brachio, contra vitia carnis vel cogitationum, Deo auxiliante, sufficiunt pugnare." Chap. I, *De generibus et vita monachorum* (P. L. LXVI, 245). It may be noted that St. Benedict confuses hermits and anchorites or recluses; in more recent times, a very clear distinction was drawn between those two kinds of solitaries, the hermit's life being naturally regarded as exposed to more perils, and consequently viewed with greater suspicion.

[2] "Sarabaitae—teterrimum genus—Pro lege eis est desideriorum voluptas" (*ibid.*).

[3] "His ergo omissis, ad coenobitarum fortissimum genus disponendum, adjuvante Deo, veniamus."

spiritual energy in order to send workers to the four corners of the world, as Augustine to Great Britain in the sixth century or Boniface, later, to Germany. Monastic institutions, whose primary end had been the personal sanctification of their members, thus became seminaries of gospel announcers, while retaining the bond of a common rule and, in most cases, of some common residence. Thus it was that, following the course of that evolution, orders were founded, in the twelfth century, for the special purpose of redeeming Christians enslaved by the Sarracenes, or of carrying on the wars in the Holy Land ; [1] while, later, St. Dominic and Francis of Assisi grouped under their leaderships preaching friars whose particular mission was to instruct the common folk or convert infidels.

But what is only a result of new conditions and constitutes a matter of fact should not unduly influence the question of principle here debated, *viz.* : Is solitary life inferior to conventual life ? And if one follows the advice given by Rolle to his adversaries,[2] by looking up the Patristic tradition on the matter, one is bound to admit that it was he who kept in view the real issue. For it appears clearly that all the Fathers who, like Benedict, have extolled conventual life apparently at the expense of solitary life, have done so—very wisely, it is true—out of sheer opportunism, to cope with the new conditions prevalent in the monastic world. The opinion traditional among them is, to use a distinction favourite with theologians, that eremitical life is superior *per se*, but inferior *per accidens*, to conventual life. In other words, it is a supreme ideal, but a difficult one to attain, one fraught with dangers and above the average human strength.

In the case of St. Benedict himself, for instance, this is clear enough. It is well known how he first lived as a solitary at Subiaco ; how the fame of his virtues urged the monks of a neighbouring convent to drag him out of his hermitage, in order to take him as their model and their guide ; how, having failed to get them to accept a rule which he deemed indispensable, he

[1] Such as the Order of Our Lady of Mercy " pro redemptione captivorum " ; the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem ; the Templars, etc.

[2] *Cf. supra*, p. 61 : " Quamobrem considerant religiosi intima sua et libros (*var.* librum) patrum suorum. . . ."

chose to go back to his solitude, whither a few disciples accompanied him, and whence he soon departed again, to go and found the first Benedictine abbey at Monte Cassino, and there write his famous *Rule* in the following year (529). It seems, therefore, that his personal preference had been for the solitary life.[1] But, on the one hand, he had had a rather gruesome experience of its perils : [2] hence his fears for the average mortal and the condition imposed of a probatory stage for candidates to the hermit's life. On the other hand, the difficulties which he had encountered, even among well-disposed monks, in trying to enforce a rule over them were to conduce him to insist strongly on the necessity of such a rule, and of blind submission to the head of the community.

These two points—apprehension of the perils inherent in the solitary life with, as a consequence, the requirement of a preliminary period of probation, and the necessity of unconditional obedience—are constantly found in the Fathers.

Even before Benedict, St. Jerome—as St. Basil had already done—insisted that movices should live in a community first. But, while he praised the security afforded by conventual life, he repeated : " Mihi solitudo paradisus ! " [3]

That St. Augustine held the same view could be demonstrated by numerous quotations. To him, contemplation, the essential function of the solitary, is the supreme act of the human soul : " The going to God, that is to the very contemplation of Truth, . . . striving to grasp intellectually those things which truly and supremely are, is the highest act of vision of the soul, than which it has none more perfect or better " (*De Quantitate Animae*, 75).[4]

[1] St. Peter Damian, interpreting the *Regula*, goes so far as to say that St. Benedict distinctly shows a preference here for eremitical life : " Benedict," he says, " places his man in a monastery, but directs him to the desert " (Dum in monasterio hominem ponit, ad eremum dirigit : hic quidem collocat, sed illuc cohortatus invitat), P. L. LXVI, 252.

[2] The tale of his heroic fight against temptations of the flesh, as told in St. Gregory's *Dialogues* (Lib. II, cap. I ; P. L. LXVI, 132) became a favourite *exemplum* in medieval books of religious instruction.

[3] *Cf.* Epist. CXXV, *Ad Rusticum monachum* (P. L. XXII).

[4] Quoted by Dom Cuthbert Butler, *Western Mysticism*, p. 204, where a full account of St. Augustine's views on this subject is given.

If we now come nearer to Rolle's time, we naturally expect a man like St. Bernard, the great Cistercian, to lay a special stress on the need for obedience and on the benefits of conventual life.[1] As a matter of fact, he explains to his disciples how they stand in need of a guide.[2] He points out to them the evils which often result from solitude, chief among which are vain glory and self-confidence, that " leprosy which devours the hearts of monks " : " Cesset voluntas pro pria et infernus non erit." [3] He quotes from experience : " Great ones we have seen who were fervent in their monastery and who, having been swallowed by the desert, have then been thrown up again lukewarm, or have remained therein, without observing the laws of the solitary life any longer, being lax or dissolute." [4] " I speak of my own experience : I find it easier to command over others—and I do it more confidently—than to command over myself." [5] He taxes with cowardice a canon regular who had resigned his office in order to live in quiet and retreat.[6] He strongly dissuades a nun from becoming a recluse, in a clever dilemma : " According to the division set in the Gospel, you are either a wise virgin or a foolish one. If a foolish one, community life is necessary to you ; if wise, you are necessary to the community " ; and he reminds her that " the evil which nobody sees nobody can redress." [7]

But still we have no condemnation of solitary life in itself. And St. Bernard's real opinion, as well as its conformity with the

[1] Chiefly in the *De praecepto et dispensatione* (P. L. CLXXXIV).

[2] *Sermo de diversis*, VIII. " Parvulis in Christo, pedagogus vobis . . . necessarius est, qui doceat, deducat, foveat vos." *Cf.* Epist. LXXXVII, 7 : " Qui se sibi magistrum constituit, stulto se discipulum subdit."

[3] Sermones *In tempore Paschali* : sermo III (P. L, CLXXXIII, 290).

[4] *Sermones in Cantica*, sermo LXIV (P. L. CLXXXIII, 1085) : " Quantos ex monasteriis spiritu ferventes eremi solitudo suscepit, et aut tepefactos evomuit, aut tenuit contra eremi legem non modo remissos sed etiam dissolutos."

[5] Epist. LXXXVII : *Ad Ogerium canonicum secularem* (P. L., *ibid.*, 215).

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] " Denique, ut ex illa Evangelica partitione omnem tibi auferam tui excusationem erroris, aut de fatuis virginibus una es, aut de prudentibus (Matth. XXV, 2-12). Si de fatuis, congregatio tibi necessaria est ; si de prudentibus, tu congregationi. . . . Malum quod nemo vidit, nemo arguit." (Epist. CXV : *Ad sanctimonialem de monasterio sanctae Mariae Trecensis*, P. L. CLXXXII, 261).

traditional view, is formulated elsewhere. " Community life," he says, " is formidable like an army arrayed as for battle. But woe to the lonely man ! For if he should fall, he will have no one to uplift him (Eccl., VI, 10). Though we hear that *such a grace* was granted to some of the old Fathers, we must not expose ourselves to *such a peril* rashly, nor tempt God, as our Founder said, speaking of anchorites : Qui non, inquit conversionis fervore initio, etc. . . . (Reg. S. Bened., Cap. I)." [1] More clearly still, in a sermon " Of solitary life," he sums up the two principles thus :

(1) Solitary life is *a great grace*, a " beatitude." " If, therefore, thou hast fled and art living in solitude, stay there, and there expect Him who hath saved thee from pusillanimity of mind and from the tempest. The desert shall feed thee with manna better than Egypt with rich viands." [2]

(2) Community life affords a greater security and, since it provides a comparative solitude, is therefore more commendable.[3]

This cursory review of the tradition leaves no doubt as to the fact that Rolle was far from being unorthodox in the matter, and all the Fathers, and St. Anselm himself, could but have subscribed to Rolle's own conclusion : " Monks, therefore, or any other men of religion, are holy, not inasmuch as they obey

[1] " Congregatio enim pro fortitudine sua terribilis est ut castrorum acies ordinata. Vae autem soli ! Quia si ceciderit, non habet sublevantem. Quod si cuiquam ex antiquis Patribus gratiam hanc concessam audivimus, non expedit temere se committere huic periculo, nec oportet tentare Deum, sicut et Magister noster de anachoretis loquens : " Qui non " inquit " conversionis fervore initio (Reg. S. Ben., Cap. I)." *Sermones de Tempore, In Circumcione Domini*, sermo III, P. L. CLXXXIII, 139.

[2] Sermo V : : *De Adventu Domini*, De Vita solitaria et de via Domino preparanda (P. L. CLXXXV, 21).

[3] *Ibid.* The few quotations just given will show the real purport of the statement by P. Pourrat that, according to St. Bernard, the solitary life " suited only a very few, and the abbot of Clairvaux, following the tradition of St. Basil and St. Benedict, was strongly in disfavour of it " (P. Pourrat, *op. cit.*, II, p. 16). Less understandable is Dom C. Butler's single indication " Nothing " under the heading " The two lives—The contemplative life the better " in his chapter on St. Bernard (*op. cit.*, table of contents and p. 245).

superiors, but inasmuch as they endeavour to serve God alone in the fervour of divine love." [1]

If both parties had looked for an authorised voice to arbitrate their dispute, they could not have done better than turn to St. Thomas Aquinas who, in his *Summa Theologica*, tersely sums up the judgment of tradition : [2]

" Solitude," he says," no more than poverty, is in itself the essence of perfection."

Then, having remarked that solitude is not suitable for " actives," he adds :

" Just as what is already perfect surpasses that which still tends to perfection, so the life of solitaries, if rightly undertaken, surpasses community life. If, however, the former is entered on without previous practice, it is full of dangers, *unless divine grace supplies what others acquire through exercise*, as was obviously the case with Benedict and Anthony."

This last sentence, and especially the words italicized, give in a nutshell the gist of Rolle's opinion. That he claimed to have received the exceptional grace mentioned by St. Thomas is clearly indicated in almost every page of his writings. The inevitable consequence is that he persistently refused to accept the judgment of men not favoured with such a privilege and, therefore, in his opinion, incapable of appreciating it. Hence the arrogant attitude with which time and again, he claims to be a " saint," one of the predestined souls, and acknowledges no other judge than God.[3]

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 61.

[2] *Summa Theologica* 2a 2ae, Questio 188, art. 8 (Utrum religio solitariorum sit praeferenda religioni in societate viventium) : " Solitudo, sicut et paupertas, non est ipsa essentia perfectionis, sed perfectionis instrumentum. . . . Sicut igitur id quod jam perfectum est praeeminet ei quod ad perfectionem exercetur, ita vita solitariorum, si debite assumatur, praeeminet vitae sociali. Si autem absque precedenti exercitio talis vita assumatur, est periculosissima : nisi per divinam gratiam suppleatur quod in aliis per exercitium acquiritur, sicut patet de beatis Antonio et Bendicto."

[3] It is impossible here to give many quotations to illustrate these points. Here are, in a few sentences from the *Melos*, some of Rolle's claims :

*He receives direct inspiration from God* : " Didici quod doceo a Deo dignante " (Cap. XVIII, fol. 14).

*The era of saints is not over, and he is one of them* : " Quatinus quisque comperiens quomodo Conditor juvenculum in germen gesserit judicii, non dicat deinceps quia non dignatur Deus indulcorare homines in hoc mundo nec magnificare modernos in melliphona multitudine sicut solebat sanctos qui antiquitus

He, no doubt, laid himself open to criticism by setting as a universal rule what could only be the privilege of the few. But, on the other hand, he thought he had a right to complain of being a victim to the unfairness with which mystics have often been treated, and against which an impartial voice has protested in these terms: "Mystical experiences are, and have a right to be, authoritative for those that have had them, and those who have had them not are not in a position to criticise or deny the validity of the experience; the mystic is invulnerable and must be left in undisturbed possession of his creed." [1]

The ultimate conclusion is that there is no ground whatever in the text of Chapter XLVII of the *Melos* for the allegations as to Rolle's conflict with a contemporary bishop or any ecclesiastical authority. The only reference is to a disagreement on a question of doctrine—and one, it must be noted, which is not an article of faith by any means—the tone being raised to a certain pitch of animosity by the uncompromising hermit whose utterances are forcible always, often triumphant, occasionally defiant, as here.[2] And when it is remembered that this text is really the

ambulabant" (Cap. I, fol. 1). "Sequor inseparabiliter semitam sanctorum. . . . Opinor quod habeam ardentem amorem. Imo scio simpliciter quod sentio signum salutiferi saporis" (Cap. XX, fol 15).

*He has been "predestined"*: "Persevero, penitudine projecta, pure et pacifice pergens ad polum (= *celum*), ut puer a Principe predestinatus" (Cap. XXVII, fol. 21).

*Men are bad judges of the merits of saints*: "Comprehendi quod mortales merita magnificorum et mirabiliorum nesciunt dijudicare" (Cap. XXXIX, fol. 32v). *And therefore he relies on God's own judgment*: "Audeo etenim in hoc apparere ante Autorem, unde et appello optime armatus ad Omnipotentem qui causantes concutiat et calumniantes, et dignum discernat a detractore" (Cap. XXXV, fol. 28).

[1] William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, London, 1928, p. 422.

[2] It is only fair to note that in the very next chapter, when the heat of the controversy has somewhat abated, Rolle acknowledges the necessity and merits of the active life, especially of that of the preacher. He even adds that the union of contemplation with action is ideal but, he thinks, extremely difficult to achieve; and, anyway, contemplation always comes first: "Itaque bonum est bonum predicatorem esse, pro salute animarum discurrere, movere et fatigari. Sed melius est, securius et suavius contemplatorem esse, eternam suavitatem presentire, delicias canere eterni amoris et in laudem rapi Conditoris per infusionem canoris jubilei. *Si quis autem utrumque poterit adipisci, tanto laudabilior esset*, sed hoc non continget nisi prius efficietur contemplator quam predicator" (Cap. XLVIII, fol. 41v).

only one that has been brought forward in proof of Rolle's spirit of insubordination,[1] it will be readily agreed that the appreciation of his character hitherto accepted must be revised at least on that count.

[1] Other texts, indeed, have been put forward, mostly in corroboration of that examined here. But, even on this assumption, Miss Allen admits that it is very difficult to say whether the attacks are directed against a personal enemy or against "the general human adversary." The latter is very often the case, beyond any possible doubt. If a doubt does sometimes arise, it is at least certain that there never is any connection with the "bishop" mentioned above.

# THE DARK COMEDIES.[1]

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IN the interpretation of Shakespeare, novelty is its own condemnation. Shakespeare means what, in the long view, the millions of his readers have taken him to mean ; and though, in the nearer view, discrepancies and contradictions may seem flagrant, there has grown up through the years an immense community of wise opinion, an implicit sense of Shakespeare's larger significance. Fundamental divergence from this is almost invariably not a revelation of novelties in Shakespeare but merely the display of a critic's idiosyncracy. Yet assent to the received sense of Shakespeare's ultimate meaning admits and even requires an adjustment, within the faith, of this or that subsidiary article to the individual's angle of approach. Not otherwise will sincerity and truth be attained. Moreover, there are places in the canon where a large licence is inevitable ; there are plays of which the trend of underlying idea is confusing not so much through its difficulty as through its obscurity. It is a commonplace of Shakespearian criticism that the so-called " dark comedies," *Measure for Measure*, *All's Well that Ends Well* and *Troilus and Cressida* are a group of plays which confound the critic, baffling his æsthetic interpretation and frustrating his philosophical appraisement of their meaning. The situation itself is not unintelligible. What it means is that, as examples of dramatic art, these plays are much more imperfect than Shakespeare's usually are. That is, Shakespeare's imagination has not been held in intense activity whilst it shaped the destiny

[1] An elaboration of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 9th of October, 1935.

of the characters whose progress is the material of these dramas. At best it has burnt intermittently; and so the artist's apprehension of the life behind them, his imaginative grasp of the vital forces which compel the sequence of events to that course which is the plot of the play, is not powerful enough to mould his figures and his predicaments into an organic dramatic form. Indeed, it seems as if his intuitive perceptions are being frequently controlled by his conscious purpose. Intellect rather than imagination is forcing the issue. These three plays are in fact problem-plays.

This is not, of course, a revolutionary proposition. All plays are problem-plays, in so far as in every play one starts with persons of a certain disposition involved in a certain situation, and the play is the dramatist's solution of what the inevitable outcome must be. As an artist's, the dramatist's solution is what his imagination apprehends it to be; but no dramatist is all imagination, and his intellectual comprehension is frequently liable to intervene and seek to play its part in determining the answer. Some characters and some situations—what one might call the more sociological types in character and in predicament—appear to excite this two-fold activity in the author more than do others. Hence "sociological plays" are less frequently shaped into the unity of a work of art than are others. They are moulded according to the dramatist's conceptions, according to his theories of society and of life, rather than by his intuitive sense of living forces or of a world grasped in his imagination as a cosmos. They are part of the dramatist's thought rather than examples of his vision. And few artists, particularly Shakespeare, have either the intellectual equipment or the intellectual habits which fit them for mastery in peculiarly analytic and ratiocinative ways of thinking. Their conscious grappling with situations baffles their imaginative resolution of them. Take *Man and Superman*, a series of scenes written to illustrate the theory that the life-force implanted in woman gives her the irresistible power to seize on the man through whom the life-force will fulfil its function. Has anybody who has seen or read the play ever felt that Tanner must necessarily succumb to Ann? Contrast with that Harold Brighouse's *Hobson's Choice*.

There is no theory here, simply the dramatist's presentation of a particular individual, Maggie Hobson ; and who has not felt the inevitability with which she captures Willie Mossop ? *Man and Superman* is a tract, *Hobson's Choice* is a play ; one is a fine piece of sociology, the other is a fine piece of drama.

It is in this more extreme sense that the three dark comedies of Shakespeare are to be called problem-plays. More than most of their kind, they show the intrusion of intellect in frustrating the effort of imagination. But what is the problem which they attempt to handle dramatically ?

At this point I feel it necessary to revert to the statement of principle with which I began to-night's lecture—namely, that in the interpretation of Shakespeare novelty is its own condemnation. I have a novel point of view to suggest to you in the interpretation of these three plays ; and I wish for the moment to plead exemption in this instance from the general principle—in effect, it is not really exemption I plead for, but I ask you to defer judgment for the time being as to whether my interpretation needs such exemption or not. For myself, I do not think it does. I have called the view I propose to put before you a novel one. It is not novel to me, since it is the view I have been tentatively putting before my students and others for the last twenty years. I should not, however, have ventured to put it into print but for the fact that in the last half-dozen years there is evidence, especially from America, that others are moving to a similar sense of the meaning of these three plays.

The circumstances are these. The epithet " dark " has been almost universally accepted as a right description of these plays. That epithet is generally taken to mean, not only that in these plays the seamier, indeed the nastiest, side of life obtrudes more persistently than elsewhere in Shakespeare, but that their underlying mood is one of bitter cynicism. This diagnosis is then built into a psychological scheme of Shakespeare's spiritual career. It is common ground that up to about 1600 his genius had turned most easily to comedy, and had achieved its supreme comic triumphs before or about 1600 in such plays as *Twelfth Night*, *As You Like It*, and *Much Ado*. But soon after 1600, and for the next half-dozen years, his out-

put is almost entirely tragic, and we have *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *Othello* and *King Lear*. It appears to be necessary to explain this desertion of comedy and this triumphant achievement in tragedy by supposing an interval during which Shakespeare the man was harrassed by doubts, depressed by sufferings, and driven to a mood of cynical despondency. Here, obviously, so runs the argument, is the period in which Shakespeare wrote the dark comedies, plays superficially or nominally comic, but in fact more than tragic in undertone, plays in which the very semblance of comedy is indeed the bitterest of their cynical implications. *All's Well That Ends Well :* what a title, they say, how devastating, how symbolic of the nihilism which is as ashes in the mouth !

Put abruptly, the views into which I am about to try to argue you are these. Though these comedies are full of greasy matter, that in itself is part of their function in Shakespeare's effort to recover the spirit of comedy. It is a greasiness which has only misled critics into seeing it as a banner of cynicism because of their mistaken notions of the relation between a work of art and the artist's psychology. In fact, the spiritual and intellectual temper which is the motive of these plays is in no wise a contempt for life and for its potential worthiness, but on the contrary, an intense impulse to discover the true sources of nobility in man and of joy in life, an intuition so ardent that it frustrates its own artistic fecundity and calls in, as a substitute, the dramaturgical exploration of conscious enquiry and deliberate experiment. These plays are not at all a bridge linking a serene comic mood with the awe-inspiring vision of tragedy. They are the road by which Shakespeare climbed from the misleading comedy of Falstaff to the richer and more satisfying comic air of *Twelfth Night*, *As You Like It*, and *Much Ado*. In brief, I take these three dark comedies to be misleadingly named ; I take them to be predecessors and not successors of the three comedies in which Shakespeare's comic triumph is most manifest.

The situation is not, as it might seem, merely a matter of actual chronology. For one thing, Croce has taught us to beware of confusion between the sequences of biographical

occurrences, and the ideal chronology of the artist's growth. Moreover, it appears to be generally agreed that no specific date can be allotted to the three dark comedies, since of all of them it is claimed that there is evidence of very considerable revision stretching over a fairly considerable measure of time. But even if it were merely a matter of historical chronology, there is in fact no more solid evidence for placing the dark comedies in the order commonly assigned to them than in that which I suggest. If we knew exactly when Shakespeare first took up and then finished this or that play, all attempts to explain the plays in relation to Shakespeare's artistic development would have to take account of such evidence as primary. But the dating of the dark comedies is, within limits as serviceable to my arguments as to any other, largely a matter of conjecture. Moreover, the trend of that conjecture has been mainly determined by the view that these plays are the expression of a mood of cynical despair.

First, then, let us enquire into this alleged cynicism. Let us glance at the three plays, not, for the moment, to endeavour to assess their comprehensive significance, but merely to see if there be in them anything incompatible with the assumption that at the time of writing them, their author was obsessed with a sense of life's futility. Turn to *Measure for Measure*. At first glance, here is enough of nastiness to justify any view of the author's despair. Its very setting is a hot-bed of immorality : Vienna and its suburbs stink. Lucio and Froth, Pompey and Mistress Overdone are its sewage. Their talk is a scurvy bawdry, their jests are mere syphilitic hysteria. And above them is a Duke who lacks the back-bone to govern, and a deputy whose puritanism collapses into sheer bestiality and crime. Its hero frenziedly implores his sister to save his neck by sacrificing her virginity ; and the sister, the unsullied heroine, after permitting herself a scornful vituperation of her brother which appears to convict her of inhuman callousness, relapses without a word into circumstances what seem to be making for the conventional ending in the peal of marriage bells. It is no wonder if one's first impression is that the painter of such a repulsive picture of life must have been almost frantic with the thought of life's worthlessness.

Yet there is also matter which seems irreconcilable with this. *Measure for Measure* may be an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, an Angelo for a Claudio. But look at the plot and its outcome. There is an almost intolerable insistence on meting out reward to the virtuous and punishment to the guilty. And even the punishment is determined in the spirit that it is as much a judge's duty to qualify as to enforce the laws. One remembers Isabella's impassioned plea that neither heaven nor man can grieve at mercy:

> No ceremony that to great ones 'longs,
> Not the king's crown, nor the deputed sword,
> The marshal's truncheon, nor the judge's robe,
> Become them with one half so good a grace
> As mercy does.

This sentiment of mortality and mercy humanises, even sentimentalises, the formal organisation of society. Its rulers are enjoined to remember that whilst it is excellent to have a giant's strength, it is tyrannous to use it like a giant. It is no indifferent pessimist, no bitter cynic, who recalls how man, proud man, drest in a little brief authority, is liable to wrench awe from fools and tie the wiser souls to his false seeming. For these are observations implying that grace is grace despite of all controversy; and that of all graces, the exercise of a beneficent mercy is most gracious. It is a sense of the potential richness of humanity rather than despondency at its neglect of those possibilities. So, too, with life itself. The agonised dread of Claudio as he contemplates death—

> Ay, but to die, and go we know not where;
> To lie in cold obstruction and to rot;
> This sensible warm motion to become
> A kneaded clod; and the delighted spirit
> To bathe in fiery floods, or to reside
> In thrilling region of thick-ribbed ice;
> To be imprison'd in the viewless winds,
> And blown with restless violence round about
> The pendent world; or to be worse than worst
> Of those that lawless and incertain thought
> Imagine howling: 'tis too horrible!
> The weariest and most loathed worldly life
> That age, ache, penury and imprisonment
> Can lay on nature is a paradise
> To what we fear of death.

—this in itself springs from a sense of the immeasurable possibilities of worth in life, though it be in life the mere living. There is Pompey, " a poor fellow that would live." And though the sordid and the horrible and the revolting are part of the panorama, as it comes full circle, there is evidence of the benignity even of evil.

> I'll speak all.
> They say, best men are moulded out of faults ;
> And, for the most, become much more the better
> For being a little bad.

But it is unsafe to assess an author's mood from the remarks of his characters. Fortunately, in *Measure for Measure* there is less contestable evidence of the temper of its author. As is well-known, the story he was telling was an old one. Cinthio told it first in his *Hecatommithi* (1565), and again in his play *Epitia*. An Englishman, George Whetstone, retold it twice—first of all in his clumsy double-barrelled play *Promos and Cassandra* (1578) and then in his prose-tale *An Heptameron of Civill Discourses* (1582). But Shakespeare made not a few changes in the tale. For instance, in Cinthio's story, the counterpart of Claudio is actually executed, and his Isabella is married to an Angelo who is immediately condemned to death, but at Isabella's supplication is respited to a life of happiness with her. In Whetstone, the Claudio escapes and another inmate of the prison is decapitated in his place so that the plot of Angelo's duplicity may run the course which it takes in Cinthio's original. But Shakespeare's alterations of this are striking though small. He does not marry Isabella to Angelo, but to one who was meant to be much nobler and more humane, the Duke himself. He does not allow his Isabella to be defiled by Angelo ; by the trick of a substitution in the dark, he arranges for Mariana to take Isabella's place unknown to Angelo. So he finds a bride for Angelo in Mariano of the Moated Grange. In fact, he avoids committing offences against our moral susceptibilities in the matter of Isabella and, at the same time, he gratifies these susceptibilities by inventing a wronged Mariana whose union with Angelo is clearly meant to be an illustration of the fitness of things. This is not to claim that dramatically Shakespeare's

solution is better or even as good as Cinthio's: it is only to assert that a desire for the happiness of human beings—in the play and in the audience—was Shakespeare's palpable motive.

But there is even more striking evidence. Cinthio's plot had his Claudio executed; Whetstone saved Claudio by substituting the execution of a condemned criminal. Both of them, that is, wanted a newly cut-off head for their story, as did also Shakespeare: otherwise the extent of Angelo's villainy would not be apparent, for he must send a head (Claudio's or one seeming to be Claudio's) to Isabella as his intimation that despite the price paid the contract has not been kept. Cinthio had no problem: Claudio's head was sacrificed. But to save Claudio, Whetstone had to find a head. He employed an obvious and feasible device. He cut the head off another condemned criminal. And Shakespeare clearly meant to do the same. Hence the invention of Barnadine.

Barnadine has been a prisoner for nine years, but now it has been finally decided to execute him. There is no doubt either that Shakespeare intended him to be executed—for Angelo's writ to the Provost specifically names for summary execution not only Claudio but also Barnadine, and the Duke, who is planning to save Claudio, especially enjoins the provost—"Call your executioner, and off with Barnadine's head." Barnadine is a Bohemian born, an utter rascal whose crimes are completely proved. Besides, he is beyond all reasonable sympathy. "A man that apprehends death no more dreadfully but as a drunken sleep; careless, reckless, and fearless of what's past, present, or to come; insensible of mortality, and desperately mortal . . . drunk many times a day, if not many days entirely drunk. We have very oft awaked him, as if to carry him to execution, and showed him a seeming warrant for it: it hath not moved him at all."

It is remarkable that Shakespeare should have displayed such humane scruples in providing the head his plot wanted: and it is certainly incompatible with a mood of cynicism. But that is not the whole story. For after Shakespeare had given himself so much trouble to find a head the cutting off of which would

offend no one's humanity, he himself had not the heart to cut the head off. The old reprobate, brought into being to be executed, so used these last few moments of his life that he blustered his way into Shakespeare's sympathy, and was reprieved. To reprieve him, Shakespeare the dramatist did not mind committing the heinous crime of sheer coincidence; he pretended that one Ragozine, a most notorious pirate, had died in prison that night, and so could be used to provide a trunkless head as a necessary property for the plot. The whole episode is a manifest revelation of Shakespeare's sense of human life; his first scruples only to destroy what manifestly deserves destruction, and then his sudden discovery that the apparently worthless human being still has his humanity with which to excite sympathy in a fellow-mortal. "Mortality and mercy" are here palpably the author's sentiments: and they are a complete negation of a mood which could in any sense be called cynical.

In the same summary fashion, turn now to *All's Well That Ends Well*. Once more, the story at first glance yields every excuse for regarding it as the work of a distracted pessimist. There is the nastiness of a dissolute hero, and the heroine's use of a seamy trick of substitution to use his lasciviousness for her purpose. She herself, in this play, is the one who lies between the sheets. There is also the same surfeit of bawdy jokes; not only are they spoken in the presence of the lovable ladies of the piece, but these ladies themselves are not above contributing an innuendo. Lavache is only excelled in filthy obsession by that shapeless lump of cloacine excrement, Parolles. Even worse, the main story tells how a girl, otherwise admirable, seems to throw away all decency in her schemes to secure for herself a man who is not only capable of every kind of dissipation but is so completely devoid of moral sentiment that he prides himself on his vices and lauds them as virtues. Yet *All's Well That Ends Well* is the motto; a nymphomaniac succeeding in her quest and the whole worthless loveless bargain sanctified by the name of marriage.

But once more, there are things in the play incompatible with this seemingly reasonable exposure of its apparent cynicism. There is in the nobler natures of the piece a conviction of the

essential difference between rank and worth, between appearance and reality.

> If she be
> All that is virtuous, save what thou dislikest,
> A poor physician's daughter, thou dislikest
> Of virtue for the name : but do not so :
> From lowest place when virtuous things proceed,
> The place is dignified by the doer's deed :
> Where great additions swell's, and virtue none,
> It is a dropsied honour. Good alone
> Is good without a name. Vileness is so :
> The property by what it is should go,
> Not by the title. She is young, wise, fair ;
> In these to nature she's immediate heir,
> And these breed honour : that is honour's scorn,
> Which challenges itself as honour's born
> And is not like the sire : honours thrive,
> When rather from our acts we them derive
> Than our foregoers : the mere word's a slave
> Debosh'd on every tomb, on every grave
> A lying trophy, and as oft is dumb
> Where dust and damn'd oblivion is the tomb
> Of honour'd bones indeed.

No less than in *Measure for Measure* does the ending expose the evildoers ; no less also, or even more, does mercy mitigate the penalty. For Bertram, there is the reformatory discipline of life with Helena ; even Parolles who had demanded mere physical life—

> Let me live, sir, in a dungeon, i' the stocks, or anywhere, so I may live

—found that amongst good-hearted human beings

> There's place and means for every man alive,

and Lafeu assures him

> Though you are a fool and a knave, you shall eat.

But here again, as in *Measure for Measure*, there is more significant evidence. It will be found in Shakespeare's alterations of, and in his additions to the Boccaccian story which is his source. Boccassio's counterpart to Helena is, unlike Helena, a wealthy girl ; moreover, her pursuit of her Bertram is undertaken entirely in the spirit of an amorous escapade. It appears unlikely that a mood of cynicism would drive an author to

dignify the real, in flagrant distinction from the material, worth of his heroine and to ennoble the enterprise of which she is the agent into an act of dedication rather than of simple conjugal gratification. More important still are the figures Shakespeare adds to his *dramatis personæ*. Admittedly they include Parolles and the Clown : but these jesters, our argument will plead, are like the nastiness in *Measure for Measure*, a device assisting in the realisation of an entirely uncynical intention. The other additions are of primary importance. The Countess and Lafeu are unknown in Boccaccio's story : and though the King appears in it, it is as a lay figure demanded by the plot. Yet Shakespeare's creations, the Countess and Lafeu, and his re-creation, the King, are amongst the most exquisite figures in the story.

The remarkable qualities they have in common are these : they are all old, they are all benign, and they are all persons in whom the experience of life has strengthened the sense of tolerance, forbearance and love. It is worth while to see their characters more closely.

The Countess has the benign wisdom of experience. She has seen life pass down the years, but it has brought neither bitterness nor indifference. Her summary enunciation of precepts may sound to be limited by a Polonian cautiousness, and " Do wrong to none " strikes a note of merely passive goodness which may not go beyond the political virtue which is Polonius's ideal. But the very catalogue from which this comes begins with the un-Polonian injunction " Love all." It is her knowledge of life which impels the next article, " trust a few." Yet knowing the fallibility of mortals, she judges with charity. She remembers those unaccountable impulses, which, though thorns, are " thorns which rightly belong to the rose of our youth." Hearing of delinquencies, she attests that " the complaints I have heard of you I do not all believe," even though cold reason assures her that the accused has folly enough to commit the crime and has ability enough to bring off such knaveries : more magnanimously still, she sets down her charity to her own assumed " slowness." Yet she really knows a knave when she meets one.

A very tainted fellow, and full of wickedness

she knows Parolles to be. But living has strengthened her instinctive knowledge of mortality and endowed her with a genius for taking life as it comes and making the most of it.

I have felt so many quirks of joy and grief
That the first face of neither, on the start,
Can woman me unto't.

And her unerring sense of human values, strong enough to overcome her natural maternal prejudice, shines out in her championship of Helena against her own son Bertram.

Lafeu, as a man, has necessarily inured himself more regularly to the experience of earth's earthiness. The trick of its less savoury idiom is more frequently on his tongue. Yet even here, the exigencies of the years only strengthen the instincts of tolerance, charity and humanity. His privilege of antiquity enriches his nature ; and the flippancy of his lighter deliverances does not obscure the fundamentally humane sanity of his sense of life. He will even excuse his charities as a means of selfish gratification. He knows Parolles, indeed he exposes Parolles before proofs are provided—

He was first smoked by the old lord Lafeu.

But he will see him fed, and pretend that the charitable office is merely for his own entertainment—

Wait on me home ; I'll make sport with thee.

In the same way, the King's nature, despite his years, despite his affliction, is so generally at all times good, that of necessity it holds up its virtue to the world. Behind his rank, he is a man amongst men, and his intercourse with Lafeu is that of two men in whom life has been enriched by their varied experiences. Their intimacy changes the tone of Court etiquette into the banter of old-time fellowships renewed : and its lightness in no wise diminishes its significance.

Will you see her—
For that is her demand, and know her business ?
That done, laugh well at me.

Such, then, are the elders of *All's Well That Ends Well.* They owe their benignity to their years and its discipline in the

arts of life. In spite of the mood of the moment, the enrichment through going down the revolving years continues.

> They say miracles are past; and we have our philosophical persons to make modern and familiar things supernatural and causeless.

Old age, indeed, brings its knowledge of the wonderful variety of life, an experience which reason may question or mistrust; but there it is, and it contributes its quantum to the force by which the process goes incessantly on its trend towards a larger happiness for those who are or will be alive. This faith is not merely that of a *laudator temporis acti*. A man holding such a faith might not only be a copy to these younger times: he—or in this case, she—will prove herself to be the efficient remedy for the need of the present. Time, life, experience—these are the ultimate tests: pretentiousness and falsity reveal themselves as time tries them. "Wherein have you played the knave with fortune, that she should scratch you, who of herself is a good lady and would not have knaves thrive long under her?" And the more therefore of time, of experience, and of life, the more of essential wisdom one has secured. Old Lafeu's contempt for the indecision of the young men is a striking instance—

> I'ld give bay Curtal and his furniture,
> My mouth no more were broken than these boys',
> And writ as little beard.
>
> Do they all deny her? An they were sons of mine, I'd have them whipped; or I would send them to the Turk, to make eunuchs of.

This presentation of the benignity of time and of the grace of old age is not only remarkable in a play classed as a "dark comedy." It would be remarkable in any play called a comedy. For, from its beginnings, comedy had realised the technical advantage of old age for the purpose of rudimentary laughter-making. Roman comedy, as we saw in our lecture on *The Comedy of Errors*, rejoices in the recognition that there is no fool like an old fool. We saw also, when we looked at *The Taming of the Shrew*, that somehow the old men seemed too sympathetically conceived to deserve the treatment to which the plot insisted on submitting them. Old age for Roman comedy was folly indurate; for the Romantics it was poetic pathos, as was the intruder Ægeon in *The Comedy of Errors*. But be-

tween the two, there is old age which is just what the world makes it, the gathering of so many years of living amongst one's fellows. These indeed are the elders of *All's Well.* They defy the traditions of comedy to be true to the experience of existence. They are living witnesses to the benignity of human life, to the wisdom which mainly comes from the passing of years in the company of fellow-mortals. They are people who could never have existed in the mind of a cynic, and who could only have been created by a dramatist whose faith was fixed in the opportunities of life as a vista of infinite possibilities for the progress of what is human in the human race.

However, there is still *Troilus and Cressida.* Admittedly, that is the most baffling of the three. But, for the time being, one may defer the main significance of its chaotic complexity, to seize on one or two of its elements of which the implication is not obviously cynical or pessimistic. There is no need to insist that, as with the other dark comedies, there is more than enough to persuade the superficial reader that bitter irony is the prevailing note of the play. A Cressida who lightheartedly defiles the ideal of romantic troth; a Pandarus who makes wooing a mere merchandise in flesh; a Helen who, as Nell, converts the Trojan War into a dance-club fracas, and, as herself, turns lechery into the motive of a world war; an Ajax and an Achilles whose impulses and whose actions are a mockery, not merely of heroic ideals, but of even ordinary human decency. Here, clearly, is sufficient to suggest an author out of tune with himself and with life.

But again there are rallying-points, sufficient for the moment. Grant Cressida her deserts, let her become the world's type of falsity—

> Prophet may you be!
> If I be false, or swerve a hair from truth,
> When time is old and hath forgot itself,
> When waterdrops have worn the stones of Troy,
> And blind oblivion swallow'd cities up,
> And mighty states characterless are grated
> To dusty nothing, yet let memory,
> From false to false, among false maids in love,
> Upbraid my falsehood! When they've said "as false

As air, as water, wind, or sandy earth,
As fox to lamb, as wolf to heifer's calf,
Pard to the hind, or stepdame to her son,"
" Yea," let them say, to stick the heart of falsehood,
" As false as Cressid."

What, in any ultimate valuation, is the significance of this in the web of circumstance over which presides that old common arbitrator Time, Time with whom is the end which crowns all, and under whose instruction every one is and cannot but be wise? There is of course, in the first place, the extant moment, the blow here and now, in the infliction of which, as from a robber's hand, Time is palpably injurious. Its depredations transform Cressid and seem to destroy Troilus. Troilus finds the world of his faith a ruin—

The bonds of heaven are slipp'd, dissolv'd and loos'd.

All for which and by which he had lived is annihilated. But, aloof from the heat of its poetry, and in the calmer contemplation of its visible influences, in what state does the play present its Troilus? How will the faith in which he has lived bear scrutiny? How much is Troilus, its victim, worth to the immediate needs of the world of which he is a part? He is a Trojan on whom in part depends the existence of Troy. As Cressid's lover, he is incapacitated from fulfilling his civic and military obligations—and that is the immediate and pressing need—to his country. The direct consequence of Cressid's faithlessness is to enhance his worth as a citizen of his own city. He becomes for the first time a real asset to his immediate fellows. The one who had moped sentimentally when the stress of events threatened destruction to his own group of society becomes at once an invaluable asset to that society. He is fired to play his part as never before in the corporate task of the moment. He will fight with an energy surpassing all that he has hitherto felt:

he hath done to-day
Mad and fantastic execution,
Engaging and redeeming of himself
With such a careless force and forceless care
As if that luck, in very spite of cunning,
Bade him win all.

Troilus the individual, who as such was a drag on his fellows, has become an invaluable instrument of their immediate security and a means by which as a society they may achieve their aims and their continued existence. Moreover, even as an individual, he has learnt to know the worth of things he had misvalued. Pandarus had never been rightly known to him while he was under Cressida's spell ; but now—

> Hence, brother-lackey ! ignomy and shame
> Pursue thy life, and live aye with thy name,

—no inconsiderable advance in clear-sightedness for a man who had hitherto failed to see through Pandarus. Indeed his broken heart helps him to see Cressida more nearly for what in fact she is, though, as a reaction from what he previously thought her, doubtless he is inclined to blacken the view of what he now thinks she is.

And what, in the summary estimates thrown up by the run of the play, what is Cressida ? Leaving, for the moment, our judgment on her own moral nature, though it must be noted that, like Chaucer, Shakespeare is not with the moralists who pursue her to a lazarhouse, the more immediate question is the measurement of her rôle amongst her fellows in the world of which she is a part, the world wherein she will continue to work either good or evil. She has exercised the spell of her nature to the detriment of Troilus and of Troy. She now passes to the camp in which her capacity for similar damage is doubly limited. Her tricks are apparent : simply through his knowledge of men and women, Ulysses can diagnose the condition of Cressid at once—

> There's language in her eye, her cheek, her lip,
> Nay, her foot speaks ; her wanton spirits look out
> At every joint and motive of her body.
> O, these encounterers, so glib of tongue,
> That give accosting welcome ere it comes,
> And wide unclasp the tables of their thoughts
> To every ticklish reader ! Set them down
> For sluttish spoils of opportunity
> And daughters of the game.

But not only does the wisdom of the Greeks render her charms innocuous, she falls in fact to the particular one of the Greeks,

Diomed, who knows her exactly for what she is, and knows how to prevent general ravage in such a circumstance—not because he has special gifts of intuition, but because he is just the average plain Greek who happened to be chosen to transfer her to the Greek camp—

> Good Diomed, furnish you fairly for this interchange.

Diomed knows how the romanticising of the relation of man and woman is fraught with evil for others. His judgment of Helen —spoken to Paris, too—is an indication of the strength of his horse-sense—

> hear me, Paris ;
> For every false drop in her bawdy veins
> A Grecian's life hath sunk ; for every scruple
> Of her contaminated carrion weight,
> A Trojan hath been slain : since she could speak,
> She hath not given so many good words breath
> As for her Greeks and Trojans suffer'd death.

When a man like that is appointed to control Cressid, he will doubtless answer to his lust, but, as for her, to her own worth she will be prized ; she may try her cajolery on him, but there will be a narrow limit to her paltering—" I'll be your fool no more ; " " I do not like this fooling." He will, in fact, render her serviceable to his own desires, good or bad ; but, like everybody else except the deluded sentimentalists, he will see her exactly for what she is, and take the proper action to ensure that she remains just what she is and no more.

For the world then, Troilus is a greater asset at the end of the play, and Cressida less of a source of harm. Is this a cynic's solution ? But if it be urged that the measurement in terms of worldly values is itself a phase of cynicism, it must be remembered that comedy must grasp life as a thing to be lived, as an immediate problem of achieving happiness in those circumstances which man inherits as the conditions of his life. Moreover, the very play *Troilus and Cressida* shows a larger awareness of the implications of man's necessarily social life than do any preceding ones. For tragedy, life is the relationship of the moment and eternity, of the individual and the absolute, of man and God. For comedy, life is the reality of

actual existence, the solving of the problem as to how man may ameliorate his condition in his existence here and now amongst his fellows. Comedy is social rather than metaphysical or theological. It is generally agreed that in no play before *Troilus and Cressida* does Shakespeare give so just a sense of the dependence of the individual on the social conditions in which as an individual he has his existence. The wisdom of Ulysses may have obvious traits of patent diplomacy, but its foundation is a sense of the inescapable interaction of society as such on the individuals who are the elements in its being.

In its most immediate bearing the sense of social organisation is a political one. As we saw in *Henry IV*, and in the group of the English history plays, Shakespeare's imagination has been exercised by the movement of communities as distinct from the progress of individuals. His sense of its basic forces deprives them of moral sanctions and of human compunctions; even in the rhetorically and patriotically glorified *Henry V*, the underlying assumptions, though hidden, are not dissimilar. But in *Troilus and Cressida* Shakespeare's apprehension of the power by which communal life progresses is more humane and more profound. Whilst human ingenuity, mere politics, will still constrain those in authority to trick the individual for the good of the community, as Ulysses tricks Ajax and tries to trick Achilles, nevertheless the governors themselves have a subtler apprehension of their function. Social well-being, the matters of the world at large, are the object of political organisation. The value of individuals is their contribution to the general good; "value dwells not in particular will." There is a specifically Platonic notion in this sense of communal as distinct from individual values—

> "a strange fellow here
> Writes me: "That man, how dearly ever parted,
> How much in having, or without or in,
> Cannot make boast to have that which he hath,
> Nor feels not what he owes, but by reflection;
> As when his virtues, shining upon others,
> Heats them and they retort that heat again
> To the first giver."

Well-being is not a state of isolated individual attainment, but an activity of well-doing :—

> no man is the lord of anything
> Though in and of him there be much consisting
> Till he communicates his parts to others.

Those who serve the general good may or may not have their current fame : an instant's giving way or hedging aside from the direct forthright may throw them as alms to oblivion—

> For time is like a fashionable host
> That slightly shakes his parting guest by the hand,
> And with his arms outstretch'd, as he would fly,
> Grasps in the comer.

But despite inequalities and injustices in the reward of the individuals, there emerges a sort of controlling justice between the endless jar of right and wrong. As by a mysterious law, through which

> The heavens themselves, the planets and this centre
> Observe degree, priority and place,
> Insisture, course, proportion, season, form,
> Office and custom, in all line of order,

the progressive good of humanity is demonstrably the law of social life. Those who for their own satisfaction stand out from or oppose this general good are stigmatised as evil-doers whether their offence is deliberate as is that of Achilles here, or whether such emotional upheavals as is the love of Troilus, make the sufferer for the time being a social menace.

There is a mystery in the soul of state : and nowhere more than in *Troilus and Cressida* does Shakespeare recognise it. Ulysses, though still a schemer, has a subtler sense of society than any English King of Shakespeare's. His speech on degree is an infinitely profounder political philosophy than is elsewhere to be found in the plays ; it is also more realistic and more humane. In the last resort, it relies largely on the half-intelligible processes by which time itself works for good : and against the individual facts of human experience wherein evil and loss are man's fate, there is the larger view that goodness comes through evil. Trouble, disappointment, suffering

> are indeed nought else
> But the protractive trials of great Jove
> To find persistive constancy in men ;
> The fineness of which metal is not found
> In fortune's love ; for then the bold and coward,
> The wise and fool, the artist and unread,
> The hard and soft, seem all affined and kin :
> But, in the wind and tempest of her frown,
> Distinction, with a broad and powerful fan,
> Puffing at all, winnows the light away ;
> And what hath mass or matter, by itself
> Lies rich in virtue and unmingled.

Once more, of course, it is necessary to remember that to find the underlying sentiment of a play in the speeches of its actors is a method fraught with many dangers. There are, moreover, passages in the play in which Time is apostrophised as the enemy of human life; for Time obviously brings to individual man, if not sufferings in life, yet certainly his final exit from it. But what one has in mind is not so much that which is explicitly said about time : it is the conviction that for those who have seen most of it, take it on the long view, it is a power making for justice and progress : as indeed, in the mere action of the play, it does. And surely such a faith in time, experience, and circumstance is entirely incompatible with the notion that the author of this play was overwhelmed in pessimism when he wrote it.

Whether or not the details of the view set out above about this and the other aspect of the three dark comedies are accepted, it is perhaps safe to say that at least there is sufficient in them to justify suspension of the opinion that these plays are the product of a disillusioned dramatist. We must address ourselves now, not to the negative consideration of what they are not, but to a positive enquiry into what they signify.

They are problem plays. What is their problem? My own view is that they are the half-articulate answer to the question which Falstaff left simmering in Shakespeare's mind, to the perturbation of his intellect and the temporary laming of his imagination. I see the plays in this order—*Troilus and Cressida*, then *Measure for Measure*, and then *All's Well ;* and I believe

that in that order they represent successive stages of a process by which Shakespeare's imagination recaptured its capacity to shape its experience into an organism which satisfied his artistic needs, that is, in this case, his sense of comedy as a form of dramatic art. Let us remind ourselves of the situation in which we left Shakespeare when Henry V cast off Falstaff.

Falstaff had appeared to provide the comic dramatist with a solution to the imaginative problems with which comedy is fraught. For comedy must guarantee its hero a happy ending, an escape from his predicaments and a triumph over circumstance. Falstaff had appeared to possess the recipe for such mastery of life. He had achieved it; but only to reveal to his author that the mastery was achieved, not so much by the possession of such qualities as secure success, as by a blindness to those phases of life which would have made his success appear as a factitious triumph of no fundamental significance. He succeeded in a world not worth conquest: and he succeeded there only through implicit denial of the things in life which by common consent are the things which, suppose indeed they be, are all that make life worth while, love, truth, faith, honour, religion and such like. In a world deprived of these—and Shakespeare knew them to exist in the real world—Falstaff's seeming triumph was a bitter frustration for the comic dramatist. It was a spiritual and imaginative necessity for him to escape from his own Sir John. He does it in these three plays: he does so by casting about imaginatively for a character who owes his happiness to qualities different from those of Falstaff in that they are qualities which take the ideal phases of living into account, those vast tracts of human experience which had been meaningless to Falstaff.

Falstaff triumphed by his wit, and by the realistic scheme of values which he adopted as the immediate means to his own welfare. It implied a materialistic and limitedly rationalist sense of reality. Experience was real only in so far as it contributed an immediately measurable gain to the body or to the physical happiness of Sir John. It was in essence a purely intellectual attitude to life, though its objectives were much more physical than intellectual. Falstaff was governed by common-sense alone, and by a common-sense which he hardened into

an explicit materialism and a calculating rationalism. As the embodiment of common-sense, he was the product of his predecessors in Shakespearean comedy. He had more of it than had they: but in subduing himself so magnificently to its rule, in revelling in the mastery it gave him, he was sublimely unaware of the limits of its efficiency. Very broadly speaking, he triumphed by asserting intellect and denying emotion, by trusting to the conscious exercise of reason and neglecting the impulses of feeling and the promptings of intuition (although, of course, his wits or his reason always permitted him to use feeling and intuition as pawns in his game).

In the main the three plays with which we are now dealing are representations of men in action so arranged that they exhibit the relative values of reason and of intuition in the search for human happiness. In the sequel (and, of course, only in so far as these plays are concerned) intuitive promptings prove themselves safer guides; they lead to the attainment of a more satisfying happiness in that it is not so much the personal gratification of the searcher but is also the cause of joy in others; and in the upshot, the searchers most apt to this new ideal of life are, not as hitherto in Shakespearean comedy, the men, but, as they are to be in his most consummate comedies, the women. The heroine begins to assert her dominion in two of these plays—in one of the two she is becoming the figure whose will determines the action of the play, and to whose character is due the kind and the degree of happiness which the ending of the story allots to its actors. In Shakespeare's recovery of the comic spirit, Helena of *All's Well* is the most significant figure of the "dark comedies." She is not yet competent to preside over the serene comedy of *Twelfth Night* and *As You Like It*. Her antipathy to all that Falstaff had been is too absolute—and her greater successors, the Rosalinds and Violas and Beatrices, will need in their temperaments those qualities which Helena has abundantly, but also, to balance and enrich them, the temporally rejected realism of Falstaff's intellectual cognition. That, however, Shakespeare was later to perceive. In the meantime, sufficient progress emerges from the three "dark comedies."

Let us remember that even in these specifically called " problem " plays, the author's deliberate questioning of life need be neither continuous nor extensive, and will indeed be evident rather in intermittent failures of imaginative grasp than in positive argumentative speculation. Yet in attempting to diagnose the problem one must use language which will seem to suggest that Shakespeare's attitude was vastly more deliberate and intellectual than it most surely was. The propositions here put forward about the meaning of the three plays are statements about their intellectual implications which Shakespeare most certainly never articulated as conscious articles of his thought. His own problem was indubitably an artistic one—the search for the spirit of comedy: it only became acute in these plays because the material, that is, men and life, from which it had to be distilled, seemed for the time being too obstinate to permit of such alchemy. Our attempt to explain his obstinacy involves a moral and intellectual analysis of the material, in terms which, though proper to an analysis of that kind, are not to be taken as statements of Shakespeare's own sense of the nature of his artistic difficulties.

The order in which the plays are now to be examined is *Troilus and Cressida*, *Measure for Measure*, and *All's Well*. That appears to be the sequence in which they occur in his progress towards the artistic end, the realisation of the idea of comedy. *Troilus and Cressida* has the most stubborn material and the dramatist is more frequently thrown back on deliberate statements of doubts and confusions in the panorama of life which is baffling his imagination. In *Measure for Measure* the imagination is finding itself capable of resolving some of the difficulties. Its exposure of Angelo is, however, much more obviously part of ultimate truth than is its presentation of Isabella's efficiency as a bringer of joy. But in *All's Well* there is virtual triumph. The imagination has apprehended a mode of human character and, projecting it through human predicaments, has demonstrated its efficiency for shaping mortal existence into an assured attainment of happiness. Its solution, as we shall see, is particular rather than general. But it was a particular confusion from which Shakespeare sought escape.

Once free, the generalisation of the solution was to follow in the mature comedies.

*Troilus and Cressida* seethes with questionings of life's value. Throughout, the secrets of nature seem to have a gift of taciturnity and poor man is confounded—

> My mind is troubled like a fountain stirr'd
> And I myself see not the bottom of it.

Existence is such a round of despiteful gentle greetings and noblest hateful loves that there seems to be no means of squaring man's known experience with a belief in the benevolence of the gods and in the way of goodness as the law of life.

> Have the gods envy?
> Aye, aye, aye, aye, 'tis too plain a case.

Living is a series of frustrations—

> There is no help,
> The better disposition of the time will have it so.

Thrown on his own resources and his own pragmatic systems—"What is aught but as 'tis valued?"—man finds himself with nothing of greater sanction than mere opinion. And opinion a man may wear on both sides. He finds little guidance in knowledge of the past or in speculation about the future—

> What's past and what's to come is strewed with husks
> And formless ruin of oblivion.

And though there is nothing else to go by, man's own valuation of circumstance is notoriously distorted. The touch of nature which makes the whole world kin is a delusive avidity for what is novel and an indifference to what even on its own standards has been proved to be good:

> O, let not virtue seek
> Remuneration for the thing it was;
> For beauty, wit,
> High birth, vigour of bone, desert in service,
> Love, friendship, charity, are subjects all
> To envious and calumniating time.

But even frustrate life is not stagnation, and man must act to live. In such a chaos, to what promptings shall he trust? He knows himself to be possessed of mighty impulses planted deep in his unconsciousness—his emotions, his appetites, his intuitions.

No less does he know himself to have will and reason. What is the worth of these frequently contending powers?

> The reasons you allege do more conduce
> To the hot passion of distemper'd blood
> Than to make up a free determination
> 'Twixt right and wrong, for pleasure and revenge
> Have ears more deaf than adders to the voice
> Of any true decision.

In such a conflict, which prevails, and, more important, which should prevail? The problem is more complex than appears in such a simplified statement of it. Take for instance a comparatively simple issue, such as that presented in the rivalry which—for simplication—is called the struggle between love and duty or love and honour. How do reason and intuition, thought and feeling muster themselves in this seemingly simple opposition? Is there no reason in love, is duty so obviously a matter of clear reason? Is there this absolute distinction in human motive?

> Blind fear, that seeing reason leads, finds safer footing than blind reason stumbling without fear.

How then is man to find a foothold, how to have sufficient security to make life worth while, how to approach the problem

> What Cressid is, what Pandar and what me?

The play is the partial answer, partial because but partially subdued to the artist's imagination. But there is a partial answer: and that is not a cynic's contempt. One must not judge too hastily from Cressid's desecration of romantic love and from the caricature of Greek virtue in the warriors. The light-hearted comedy of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is as complete an exposure of the foundations of romantic love as is *Troilus and Cressida*: Troilus in act exemplifies what Theseus has preached; only, of course, Troilus found himself and lost the lady. Moreover, it has been well demonstrated by research amongst other sixteenth-century writers that Shakespeare was no innovator when he wrote the Greek warriors down to mere unconscionable filibusters. Even the sixteenth century had reached a stage in humane progress sufficient to suggest the questioning of a merely martial heroism: just as it had become humanely

conscious enough to question the mediæval assumptions on which the creed of romantic love was reared. Apart from comments by such clearly discredited characters—clearly discredited because discredited in the action of the play—as Pandarus and Thersites, the only heroes who are grossly written down are Paris, Ajax, and Achilles. And it is easy to suggest motives in each case.

At all events, if the dramatist were in the serious frame of mind which was beating about for some trial of accepted human values, in *Troilus and Cressida* Shakespeare found a body of material even more apt to the trial than that usually employed by other practitioners of the problem-play. Mr. Shaw, seeking to demonstrate the relative value of common sense and of romantic heroism for the purposes of the military profession, sets a Sergius and a Bluntschli to face military predicaments: and the outcome provides the answer. But Mr. Shaw factitiously chooses the predicaments, and no less factitiously embodies his contending qualities in characters of his own invention. Euripides, at least Euripides as Mr. Gilbert Murray makes us see him, is more astute. He takes a legendary story—in his *Orestes*, for instance—in which the deeds and the outcome of the action were meant to exhibit characters whose motives had the ennobling sanctions of contemporary religious and moral beliefs. He retains the story, that is, the deeds and the outcome. But he attributes entirely different and entirely ignoble motives to the characters—and finds that in act they lead to the same consequences, the same actions, that is, and the same ultimate outcome.

But if such testing be Shakespeare's purpose then his choice of the matter of *Troilus and Cressida* is a stroke of genius. It is a story compounded of ancient and of medieval legend. The legends of an epoch, defining themselves gradually by the crystallisation of the public conscience, are far more authentic embodiments of the epoch's ideals and standards of value than any individual's invented story can be. A legend is the mirror of the mind of the race which makes it. Its heroes are types of what to them is heroic, and its adventures and conclusions are examples in act of the working of the race's deities in the control

of human destiny. Its picture of life is a reflection of contemporary manners, its characters are manifestations of contemporary moral philosophy, and its denouements are witnesses to contemporary theology. Achilles, Hector, Ulysses and Paris each in his own way is a symbol of ancient notions of the ideal in manhood. Galahad, Lancelot, Perceval and Tristram in their turn are symbols of medieval notions of similar human value.

The historic growth of the legend of Troilus and Cressida is the gathering of two vast ages of human experience. That side of it which concerns the war, the camp-scenes, comes down from Greece; what concerns the romance of Troilus and Cressida is the distinctive addition of the Middle Ages. Allowing for a certain degree of fossilisation in deposits, it is nevertheless obvious that here is a tale in which is enshrined all that the ancient world felt to be worth while, and all that the Middle Ages had found to make life worth living. Here then was a marvellous inheritance of standards which had seemed to prove their worth over wide stretches of time. No better touchstone could be devised for the trial of new criteria. A canvas like this would clearly provide matter by which any new system of moral measurement might be tested.

The test in *Troilus and Cressida* is so fair, so unusually objective, that the flagrant absence from it of a bias to come down on the side of traditional virtue is imputed to the author for a mood, not of experimental scepticism, but of rampant infidelity. The voice of Thersites about the warriors, and of Pandarus on the desires of the lovers, is taken as the voice of Shakespeare. But all in the play know, as indeed Homer himself had known, that the opinion of Thersites is of no worth whatever. There is Agamemnon's sarcasm—

> When rank Thersites opes his mastic jaws,
> We shall have music, wit and oracle.

He is a slave whose gall coins slanders like a mint. In the play he is indeed "a privileged man," a fellow allowed to speak the most scurrilous words, for what such scurrility can damage is not worth preservation. "It is a strong composure a fool can disunite." And if the pandaring of Pandar secures for him a temporary allowance, he is duly known in the end. Surely,

there is more of Shakespeare in the fate of these figures than in the exploits by which they meet that fate: for it is Shakespeare who is shaping their destiny, and his judgment of them is palpably a condemnation of their ways.

It is not, of course, a denial of all that Thersites says about war and all Pandarus says about love. In the causes of the Trojan war, there was something which, but for politeness, even a modern archbishop might describe as an argument about a cuckold and a whore; he might even admit, in his moral indignation (which, of course, is not what makes Thersites say so), that there is "nothing but lechery! all incontinent varlets!" Admittedly the dramatist's refusal to see the conflict as a strife of noble ideals appears from his depiction of Paris and Helen. A Paris who would fain have armed to-day, but who stayed at home because "My Nell would not have it so" is clearly a dramatist's version of the domestic realism of sexual infatuation and not an epic poet's picture of the bliss of ideal love. Only your Elizabethan romantic Marlowe could dissolve in ecstasy at the contemplation of a face that launched a thousand ships, though it burnt the topless towers of Ilium. Even the Greeks refused to romanticise Helen: to them, indeed, she was the Lamia-like charm which bewitched men into flagrant denials of evident and rudimentary obligations—"*das ewig-Weibliches*" drawing man not to a higher destiny but to a destruction of the self-evident laws of human society; to chaos, not to salvation.

The denigration of Ajax means nothing, except a further chapter in the depredations of *hubris* and a manifestation of the capacity of merely human wisdom to use its imperfections in the furtherance of human welfare, as the political sagacity of Ulysses uses the pride of Ajax to achieve the object of the Greeks. But the blackening of Achilles seems to protrude unpleasantly from Shakespeare's picture. There is the devastating low cunning of his conquest of Hector. Why should Achilles invite such ignominy? On the testimony of the story, his temperamental quarrelsomeness and his pride are mere hearsay, and his homosexualism nothing but the report of a known slanderer. But what is certain is that for personal reasons—and in the last resort, these are represented as promptings or

obligations of romantic love or of sexual gratification—his hope to achieve the love of the daughter of the enemy Queen—

> Here is a letter from Queen Hecuba,
> A token from her daughter, my fair love,
> Both taxing me, and gaging me to keep
> An oath that I have sworn

—for reasons such as these he has decided to defy what is commonly called duty—that is, his service to the well-being of the society of which he is a part.

> Fall Greeks ; fall fame ; honour or go or stay ;
> My major vow lies here, this I'll obey.

Recalling that the whole gist of the intellectual undertone of the play is a recognition of the obligations of society, of the conditions on which alone man can live a rich and ordered life amongst his fellows, it is clear that an individual who, through *hubris* and through an assertion of his claims to a merely personal happiness such as Achilles makes, must cast himself for the villain's *rôle*. The denigration of Achilles, on the scheme of the play, is inevitable, and in no wise a cynical speculation. He is condemned not by the jaundiced outlook of a pessimist, but by an upholder of Ulysses' code of wisdom in the matter of corporate well-being.

It is perhaps an accident that in this story the nominal motive of Achilles' delinquency is his love for Hecuba's daughter more than his tetchiness at the suspicion of slight. But it reminds us that not only in these " dark comedies " does Shakespeare illustrate the ennervating influence love may have on mortal man. Paris allows his sensuous pleasure to count more to him than the joy of virtue : but he only appears as an extreme example because his common-place moral looseness is the cause of a ten years' war between nations. It may well be that Shakespeare first thought of dramatising the love-story of Troilus and Cressida when he was in the mood which saw love's vagaries as they are depicted in *A Midsummer Night's Dream :* contemplating, not now, the lover whose frenzy sees Helen's beauty in a brow of Egypt, but the no less " comic " predicament of the lover who has installed Helen in his kitchen and at his fireside. In the main love-story, however, that of Troilus

himself and of Cressida, the irresponsibility of love is apparently making for human dilemmas not obviously to be resolved by laughter and by the liberal-mindedness of common sense. It is easier for the moment to let the comic hero triumph over life by immunising him against love. So Falstaff sweeps to his partial victory: and the finding of a place for a broken-hearted Troilus in a world which is worth while was deferred until value in life began to be seen rather as part of the welfare of the whole than of the pleasure of the particular, until the real measure of man was taken to be his worth to his fellows rather than the achievement of his own desire. When Shakespeare was writing his political plays—*Henry IV*, *Henry V* (and perhaps *Julius Caesar*) there came to him this realisation of the social implications of human goodness: and the first conscious formulation of it is the chief article in the wisdom of Ulysses in *Troilus and Cressida*, even though in that formulation it is merely the political aspect of the principle which is stressed. It may well be that when Shakespeare's imagination was grappling dramatically with these stories which narrate the destiny, not of this man or of that, but of groups and societies of men, races and nations, he was led to pick up his unfinished love-story of Troilus and Cressida and set it against the background of the wider national scenes in the Greek and Trojan conflict. In these, at least, he finds a worthy place for a broken-hearted Troilus: and more than that, in the trend of their implicit ideas, he is feeling for some sort of a system which makes the fate of Troilus both an intelligible and a tolerable part in a universe which is not hostile to man's effort to secure a larger good.

Throughout the play the situation is perpetually poising the will of the individual against the *volonté generale*. "Value dwells not in particular will." The achievements of individuals and their merely personal renown are in a real assessment only "baby figures of the giant mass of things to come at large." The real crime of Achilles is that he

> carries on the stream of his dispose
> Without observance or respect of any,
> In will peculiar and in self-admission.

Because he thinks that honour amongst men is the prize of

accident rather than of merit he declines to compete for the prize. But again it is Ulysses who formulates the drift of opinion which the action of the play demonstrates and corroborates :

> No man is the lord of anything
> Though in and of him there be much consisting,
> Till he communicates his parts to others ;
> Nor doth he of himself know them for aught
> Till he behold them form'd in the applause
> Where they're extended ; who, like an arch, reverberates
> The voice again, or, like a gate of steel
> Fronting the sun, receives and renders back
> His figure and his heat.

One must not read this as a code in which philanthropy is exalted above all other virtues : but it implies a sense of values from which it is an easy step to the realisation that in the service of humanity lies the greatest virtue. And that is an apprehension which is particularly manifest in another of the dark comedies. In the meantime, it is enough to assert that Shakespeare's picture of the degraded Achilles is no proof of Shakespeare's cynicism : and sufficient evidence of that is provided by Shakespeare's apprehension of the elements in Achilles' character through which his degradation came.

The problem which seems to be occupying Shakespeare's imaginative exploration most is the tracking of those impulses and motives in man which lead him and the world about him most securely along paths that prove themselves most worth while. What does man owe to his deliberately rational endeavour to control his and his world's future ? What, on the other hand, does he owe to the non-rational impulses which prompt him to this or that action ? How, in fact, does man stand most securely between the dangerous shores of will and judgment ? Broadly speaking, the government of public life seems to be most effectively conducted by adopting schemes devised by thought—the wisdom of Ulysses, for example, or the plain common sense of Agamemnon, or the summary principles arrived at by the observation of such long experience as Nestor has enjoyed. On the other hand, in the major moments of individual life, the more decisive and the more irresistible impulses appear

to proceed from instinct, intuition and emotion: love, for instance, sexual love, surges up and makes havoc of reason—for, it seems, "to be wise and love exceeds man's might." Troilus knows himself to be torn between irreconcilable postulates, when his eyes see Cressid dallying with Diomed:

> This she? No, this is Diomed's Cressida:
> If beauty have a soul, this is not she;
> If souls guide vows, if vows be sanctimonies,
> If sanctimony be the gods' delight,
> If there be rule in unity itself,
> This is not she. O madness of discourse,
> That cause sets up with and against itself!
> Bi-fold authority! where reason can revolt
> Without perdition, and loss assume all reason
> Without revolt: this is, and is not, Cressid.
> Within my soul there doth conduce a fight
> Of this strange nature that a thing inseparate
> Divides more wider than the sky and earth,
> And yet the spacious breadth of this division
> Admits no orifex for a point as subtle
> As Ariachne's broken woof to enter.

What, then, is man to do? Or at least, on which of these contrary motives does he generally act, and with what effect? The reconciliation of love and wisdom may be for the moment beyond the artist's vision. But a simpler issue is apparent in the artist's finest figure in the play: his Hector stands above the rest of his characters in manhood and in obvious worth. And what are the springs of Hector's nobility? Unlike so many Homeric heroes in the play, he is never written down by Shakespeare. He is not, of course, the idealised pattern of the superman: he is noble, yet still a man:

> Hector, whose patience
> Is, as a virtue, fixed, to-day was moved;
> He chid Andromache and struck his armorer,
> And, like as there were husbandry in war,
> Before the sun rose he was harness'd light,
> And to the field goes he; where every flower
> Did, as a prophet, weep what it foresaw
> In Hector's wrath.

This, so Alexander tells us, was because Ajax "yesterday coped

Hector in the battle and struck him down, the disdain and shame whereof hath ever since kept Hector fasting and waking."

As far as the action of the play attests his nobility in act, the motives of his deeds spring from two opposing sources, his deliberate schemes of conduct, and his impulsive intuitive response to an irrational perception of the circumstances of the moment. The situation is clearest in the Trojan conference which discusses whether to seek peace or to continue the war. Hector at the outset is for sending Helen back to Greece and so preventing further bloodshed in guarding a " thing not ours nor worth to us." But the romantic Troilus and the interested Paris are against him. Troilus admits that reason is on Hector's side—but denies that reason has any value in furthering man's attempts to achieve ideal virtue—

> Nay, if we talk of reason,
> Let's shut our gates and sleep : manhood and honour
> Should have hare-hearts, would they but fat their thoughts
> With this cramm'd reason : reason and respect
> Make livers pale and lustihood deject.

Nor will he admit that where honour is engaged, even a common-sense consideration of the probable issue is relevant to the judgment of situation. He refuses to allow what Hector calls the mad heat of his blood to be qualified by even such discourse of reason as the fear of bad success in a bad cause. For his part, Paris, besotted in his sweet delights, covers his own personal concern in the retention of Helen under traditional pleas that the honour of the whole race is now mortgaged. But Hector knows that both Paris and Troilus have but glozed superficially on the cause and question in hand. He gives his own view of the manner in which the situation must be faced. The fundamental problem is to make up a free determination 'twixt right and wrong. Hot passion proceeding from distempered blood does not help ; it frustrates a sound solution, for pleasure and revenge (a striking diagnosis of the motives, pleasure, of Paris, and revenge, of Troilus—that is, pleasure is Hector's word for love, and revenge, his description of honour) for pleasure and revenge have ears more deaf than adders to the voice of any true decision. He then proceeds with his own examination of

the situation. He sees it in the light of the moral laws of nature and of nations :

> Nature craves
> All dues be render'd to their owners : now,
> What nearer debt in all humanity
> Than wife is to the husband ? If this law
> Of nature be corrupted through affection,
> And that great minds, of partial indulgence
> To their benumbed wills, resist the same,
> There is a law in each well-order'd nation
> To curb those raging appetites that are
> Most disobedient and refractory.
> If Helen then be wife to Sparta's king,
> As it is known she is, these moral laws
> Of nature and of nations speak aloud
> To have her back return'd.

The conclusion is absolute in the way of truth—

> thus to persist
> In doing wrong extenuates not wrong,
> But makes it much more heavy.

There is no resisting the reasonableness of Hector's analysis. He has done all he could to persuade his people into reason. But even as he concludes his unanswerable plea for justice and for right, he enlists himself on the other side :

> Yet ne'ertheless,
> My spritely brethren, I propend to you
> In resolution to keep Helen still.

Dramatically the situation is a mere confusion in that the play presents no psychological clue to this sudden and complete change of front. We are thrown back on speculation. Does Hector decline from a wider to a narrower vision, and, for the voice of humanity's need, substitute that of personal opportunity ? Is it a rejection of the common good, to secure as much as he can of his family's joint and several dignities ? Is it that he perceives that the nicely calculated less or more is a mean intrusion where the theme is one of honour and renown ? Is it that the rich advantage of a promised personal glory drives him into obliviousness of the wide world's revenue ? Who knows ? Who can hope to know from this play ? It is a problem-play ; it presents the problem. It does not provide the answer.

Yet the hint of a way to an answer emerges from the play. Is not demonstrable reason, because by its nature it is demonstrable, too liable to be over-estimated? Is there not a sort of irrational reason in instinct? Are not the obligations of our blood sanctions as valid as the findings of our conscious deliberations? In the last resort, is not the acquired experience of mankind somehow incorporated in his instincts even as certainly as in the momentary decision of his conscious judgments? Again, another problem. But the mere statement of it implies a willingness to allot a large validity to instinct as against reason: and a mood which is even so far willing to find time and experience a guide to humanity is certainly no cynic's mood.

Perhaps the most striking of the many complex threads of *Troilus and Cressida* is its persistent exposure of the limitations of what may be called the Falstaffian approach to life. There is a growing suspicion that a man like Falstaff wears his wits in his belly and his guts on his head. The assumptions on which he builds his realistic pragmatism are inadequate, for *homo* is palpably not a common name for man, when a Thersites and a Hector both are men. Grant Falstaff his assumption, and Achilles' horse makes many Thetis' sons—in other words, Swiftian Yahooism is a true picture of life: but the work of those that with the fineness of their souls by reason guide the execution of human effort is a plain refutation of this consequence.

In many ways the criteria by which Falstaff measures worldly worth are in the same kind as those of Thersites. The determination to cling to life, to mere existence, at all costs is a Falstaffian ideal which is only set in another angle when Thersites puts it in his own idiom: "To be a dog, a mule, a cat, a fitchew, a toad, a lizard, an owl, a puttock, or a herring without a roe, I would not care. . . . Ask me not what I would be, if I were not Thersites." Remember of course that when he says "I would not care," he means "it would nothing perturb me." Though he is here expressing scorn in a mode of humour entirely his own, his acts fit into a plan of life not markedly dissimilar from this conception of it as mere animal existence. To preserve it, he will assume any indignity—

> "I am a rascal; a scurvy railing knave and very filthy rogue,"

he pleads with Hector, and so saves his skin. Again he claims the ignominy of bastardy to get out of a conflict with Margareton—

> I am a bastard too; I love bastards: I am a bastard begot, bastard instructed, bastard in mind, bastard in valour, in every thing illegitimate. One bear will not bite another, and wherefore should one bastard? Take heed, the quarrel's most ominous to us: if the son of a whore fight for a whore, he tempts judgment.

It is almost as if there was a deliberate writing down of the trickery by which Falstaff avoided combat with Douglas. Falstaff's mimicry of Henry IV lamenting the evil ways of Hal is all for our laughter. Patroclus's slanderous pageantry, imitating the Greek leaders with ridiculous and awkward action, is, in the eyes of Ulysses, a mere scurril jest. It is wit misused, it distorts real and proved values—" our abilities, gifts, natures, shapes, severals and generals of grace exact " are unscrupulously made to serve as stuff to make paradoxes. The wit by which Falstaff achieves his mastery has become a dubious instrument: and the realistic rationalism, the cold reason, which it assumed in measuring the worth of things is directly challenged:

> Here are your reasons:
> You know an enemy intends you harm;
> You know a sword employ'd is perilous,
> And reason flies the object of all harm:
> Who marvels then, when Helenus beholds
> A Grecian and his sword, if he do set
> The very wings of reason to his heels
> And fly like chidden Mercury from Jove
> Or like a star disorb'd?

And though the challenger has in his own way no more reason on his side than has the challenged, he secures the plaudits of human sympathy. It is hardly an overstatement to assert that, if there is anything positive and constructive in the seeming desolation of *Troilus and Cressida*, it is this drift away from Falstaffianism and the exposure of its contemptible though specious triumphs.

But much more constructive notions are revealed in the other two dark comedies, more positive hints of the ways in which life becomes worth while. *Troilus and Cressida* is mainly a presentation of the problem at its worst: there are fellows like

Thersites ; how far can even such as he write down life within the limits of a specious plausibility ? It is, of course, a depressing picture—but not the cynical picture it would be if Shakespeare were Thersites. *Measure for Measure* and *All's Well* are more than presentations of the problem. They are attempts to solve it—exhibitions of the way in which grace in one sort or another may successfully counter whatever ills the flesh is heir to, and re-establish human kindness as the means by which humanity can and will attain to its richest happiness.

*Measure for Measure* exhibits the conditions under which an ideal is effective in attaining the good it proposes to itself. But in the course of its achievement, the ideal itself is in danger of failing when it lacks the tolerance of sympathy with human beings as such and the good-will to enhance their welfare. *Measure for Measure* is dramatically more successful in exposing the limitations of the ideal of the Puritan than in establishing the effectiveness of the ideal of formal purity : Angelo's fall is a clearer instance of the beneficence of mere human nature than is Isabella's nominal success. But between them, they suggest imaginative conjecture concerning the capacity of simple human kindness as an instrument for multiplying the happiness of humanity. *All's Well* is a positive assertion of the illimitable capacity of human instincts to serve the noblest purposes of human nature.

Hence, *Measure for Measure* at this point. It is, more explicitly than *Troilus and Cressida*, a problem play. The nature of the problem is sufficiently established by *Troilus and Cressida ;* and, taken over into *Measure for Measure*, the situation is that in this world of ours—

> there is so great a fever on goodness, that the dissolution of it must cure it : novelty is only in request ; and it is as dangerous to be aged in any kind of course, as it is virtuous to be constant in any undertaking. There is scarce truth enough alive to make societies secure ; but security enough to make fellowships accursed.

Hence the riddle which confronts the wisdom of the world. What is goodness ? How can real goodness be distinguished from seeming goodness ? A well-disposed contemplative man such as the Duke needs confirmation of his trust that things

are not as bad as they appear. He devises circumstances with the declared object of discovering what our seemers really are. He rigs the plot; it is a leaven'd and a prepared choice. Explicitly, it is a trial of Angelo's virtue, a deliberate test of his metal. But when this is woven into the dilemmas which constitute a dramatic story, it becomes an experiment in measuring the effective goodness of all the characters involved in the course of the story. The incidents run on and each in succession is the outcome of energies contributed by the will or the judgment of the various people involved in it. In so far as this outcome is palpably for good or for evil, to what energies, and to energies exerted on what sorts of impulse, is it to be set down? The issue of the action is artistically the visible or dramatic answer. And every episode which is part of the plot of *Measure for Measure* appears to be even more plainly than in most of Shakespeare's plays an experimental demonstration of the results proceeding from the operation of given forces. The play is literally an assay of virtue, to practise the author's and the audience's judgment in the matter of the disposition of natures, of the effective worth, that is, of its chosen types of human beings. Each person in the play is seen in the light of his contribution to the sum-total of human welfare: and though many of the people involved add but little, they are nevertheless accessories in a comprehensive judgment which, of course, bases itself primarily on the attainments in this particular of such major characters in the story as Angelo, Isabella, and the Duke.

Angelo plays the villain's part. But he is not primarily shaped for evil-doing. He does not seek villainy; it overtakes and conquers him. He has earned amongst those who know him a high repute for a specific kind of virtue. The Duke chooses him as deputy: he never hints even a suspicion that Angelo has not in fact the sort of virtue which is attributed to him; what the Duke is uncertain of is how far a virtue of that kind is a real virtue. One must remember this, because the issue is later confused by Shakespeare's divergence from the original story. The invention of Mariana, for motives already mentioned (and those quite incompatible with Shakespeare's alleged cynicism), involves a retrospective blackening of Angelo's

character. His perfidy to Mariana is necessary to the new plot, and is therefore brought in as an episode remembered by the Duke. But it had no place in the Duke's mind when he nominated Angelo for Deputy, nor would it have had any existence in fact if the new form of the *dénouement* had not required it.

Angelo is a man who has governed his life on a rigorous system. He is a man of stricture and firm abstinence. He has not disciplined his human nature to confidence in its active exercise; he has rigidly suppressed it. So completely has he secured control of his instincts, impulses, and emotions, that without boasting he confidently asserts

> What I will not, that I cannot do.

He has so far conquered impulses of the blood that he seems to have attained passionlessness. He is precise,

> Stands at a ground with envy; scarce confesses
> That his blood flows or that his appetite
> Is more to bread than stone.

He is a man whose blood

> Is very snow-broth; one who never feels
> The wanton stings and motions of the sense,
> But doth rebate and blunt his natural edge
> With profits of the mind, study and fast.

No one doubts that Angelo has reached this sort of control of himself. His integrity in that kind is common knowledge: and even men about town like Lucio know it for a certainty, though their way of expressing it is more remarkable for its smart smuttiness than for its propriety. "They say this Angelo was not made by man and woman after this downright way of creation. . . . Some report a sea-maid spawned him; some, that he was begot between two stock-fishes. But it is certain that when he makes water his urine is congealed ice; that I know to be true: and he is a motion generative; that's infallible."

For most of the situations of life, Angelo's is a kind of virtue which seems to serve. But it is fundamentally insecure: blood may at any time assert itself, and the more violently because it has been so rigorously restrained. The way of Angelo's fall, however, almost seems a conspiracy of nature against his cal-

culated probity. He does not lightly step into temptation. Isabella's pleading has a kind of malicious suggestiveness. When she comes to beg her brother's life, Angelo is eager to dismiss her as soon as he can—"Pray you, be gone." Her plea that Angelo should knock at his own bosom and ask his heart whether it knows anything in himself like the natural guiltiness of her brother is a telling blow: it recalls to Angelo the temptations of the blood which he has so far overcome. But it recalls them in circumstances which make him fear his mastery. He will prevent danger by dismissing the pleader. "Fare you well." She will not go—but to get rid of her disturbing presence, he promises to see her again tomorrow. The phrase by which she meets this is fatal to Angelo. "Hark how I'll bribe you." The wicked plan is formulating itself in Angelo's mind. He knows it and he prays to be saved from it. To Isabella's formal "Heaven keep your honour safe," he replies devoutly

> Amen: for I am that way given to temptation
> Where prayers cross.

On her departure, Angelo realises how frail are the foundations of his virtue. His monologue is at least an honest diagnosis of his case. He has succumbed: "This virtuous maid subdues me quite." "Never could the strumpet, with all her double vigour, art and nature, once stir my temper." But now his appetite overcomes him. From that point onwards—

> I have begun
> And now I give my sensual race the rein.

Once the system on which he has built up his life has collapsed, there is no limit to the evil of which he is capable. His worst crime is his intent to sacrifice Claudio after the price of his safety has been paid. And that is his worst crime because it displays an absolute callousness towards a human life. It is a clue to his undoing. His virtue has been built on purely formal or intellectual motives of probity: it has discounted all sentiments of human kindness. It has been a virtue in and for itself, the attempt to set up a state of individual well-being, regardless of obligations towards the well-being of others. It has been

erected on a denial of the human nature which is the bond of humanity. It has reduced blood to snow-broth.

Yet even Angelo, sunk in sin, comes to truer notions of life. His penitence is absolute, and the sense of his own unfitness to go on living is a mark of his redemption.

> Then, good prince,
> No longer session hold upon my shame,
> But let my trial be mine own confession ;
> Immediate sentence then and sequent death
> Is all the grace I beg.

In the plea of Isabella for his life there is a saving of something in him worth the saving.

> I partly think
> A due sincerity govern'd his deeds,
> Till he did look on me : since it is so,
> Let him not die.

The action of the play has put him on trial. It has found in him a false virtue, a virtue erected on a nicely-calculated scheme of rigid principles. It has also found the source of his weakness, a disregard of, even a contempt for, the sub-conscious and non-rational impulses which for good and evil are amongst the most potent forces in man's heritage. But a dramatist who finds an attempt at calculated virtue frustrated through the starving of mere human instinct, is surely not a dramatist writing under a sense of life's futility. Like Falstaff, Angelo has a narrow and formal scheme of values, the value to oneself here and now. His pragmatical realism is even more obviously delusive than is Falstaff's : for Falstaff at least had veins through which the blood ran hot. The exposure of Angelo is a stage in the reintegration of belief in the essential goodness of human nature.

The more positive exposition of its goodness in the person of Isabella is dramatically far less satisfying. The action of the play requires her as an active contributor to the happy ending. Her character and her acts are meant to be visibly convincing forces in the overthrow of evil and the triumph of good.

> For in her youth
> There is a prone and speechless dialect
> Such as move men : besides, she hath prosperous art
> When she will play with reason and discourse,
> And well can she persuade.

Somehow or another, the audience is unpersuaded. Her goodness is, so to speak, traditional. She is to be vowed to chastity: she is to dedicate her life to a mode of living which in the experience of mankind has been the manifestation of a high degree of spiritual well-being. If, in a sense, it is a notion of formal goodness, a fugitive and cloistered virtue, it has nevertheless a wider and a larger sanction than the selfish and individual notion of goodness which is Angelo's puritanism, because it has the approbation of many centuries of human experience. Yet somehow, as if its implicit denial of natural law confused Shakespeare's apprehension of its living reality, the dramatist's embodiment of it does not come to convincing life. Isabella in act does not dramatically compel the results which theoretically her character is cast by the story to achieve. Too frequently she makes the ideal for which she lives seem more like a formal code of verbal presumption than an intense spiritual dedication. When she hears of Claudio's crime, her first recommendation is of no higher order than any other suggestion for making an honest woman of the victim: "O, let him marry her"—and all apparently will be well. Moreover, she utters not a single word of doubt when the substitution trick is suggested. Too frequently, she seems to regard the letter as the fundamental thing in the law. She protests in general principles at large: her first words in her plea to Angelo are in that manner:

> There is a vice that most I do abhor,
> And most desire should meet the blow of justice.

An air of self-righteousness attaches itself to her; she professes herself, when she is not called upon to make it, to be capable of extreme sacrifice:

> O, were it but my life,
> I'ld throw it down for your deliverance
> As frankly as a pin.

Her final threat to Angelo when he has revealed his iniquity is sheer blackmail:

> I will proclaim thee, Angelo; look for't:
> Sign me a present pardon for my brother,
> Or with an outstretch'd throat, I'll tell the world aloud
> What man thou art.

Somehow she makes herself unattractive: "I have no superfluous leisure": that is the sort of self-possessed hussy she sometimes seems. Her own affairs and her own sense of their righteousness are of paramount importance. Her belief begins to look like a narrow formal dogmatism, and her turning on her desperate brother appears as a mere cheap triumph in verbal theatricality. The violence of her denunciation of his cowardice utters itself in language more like that of cruel badinage than of shocked virginal purity—

> O you beast!
> O faithless coward! O dishonest wretch!
> Wilt thou be made a man out of my vice?
> Is't not a kind of incest, to take life
> From thine own sister's shame? What should I think?
> Heaven shield my mother play'd my father fair!
> For such a warped slip of wilderness
> Ne'er issued from his blood.

Nor is there a spark of humanity in the pose of utter contempt she assumes when she declares herself unwilling to do the slightest thing to save her brother:

> Take my defiance!
> Die, perish! Might but my bending down
> Reprieve thee from thy fate, it should proceed:
> I'll pray a thousand prayers for thy death,
> No word to save thee.

But this only means that dramatically she is a failure. Shakespeare has conceived of a sort of goodness efficient to overcome such evil as there is in the play. Nominally, Isabella's virtue does so triumph. But it is a forced triumph: one, that is, which as it proceeds through the story, carries no conviction of its necessity to the minds of the audience. Still, even if Shakespeare's imagination has failed to apprehend a traditional form of goodness as a power demonstrably and compellingly making for a better world, the fact that he chose a story in which goodness is cast for that rôle, is surely no pessimist's view of life. Even the failure is reassuring—for what obstructs his imaginative grasp of Isabella is her lack of the simpler and commoner traits of mere humanity. In a way, her goodness has this in common with Angelo's: it is condition of the individual soul

within the narrow sphere of its own identity. But even in this play, there are other characters who are becoming aware of the imperfection of this limited kind of personal goodness. The Duke has been generally censured. He seems to run away from unpleasant duties: and perhaps he is unfitted for the kind of government which a hard-hearted Henry IV can bring off so well. His humaneness is in fact a hindrance to his practical efficiency. But his instincts are benevolent. He is one who rather rejoices to see another merry than prone to be himself merry at anything which professes to make him rejoice. It is this active benevolence which prompts him to the questionable schemes and the verbal lying of his plot. His code of goodness is a larger one than any which has hitherto ruled in Shakespeare's comedy. Falstaff's virtue was his aptitude for securing his own welfare. But the Duke's standard is not self but service:

> Thyself and thy belongings
> Are not thine own so proper as to waste
> Thyself upon thy virtues, they on thee.
> Heaven doth with us as we with torches do,
> Not light them for ourselves; for if our virtues
> Did not go forth of us, 'twere all alike
> As if we had them not. Spirits are not finely touch'd
> But to fine issues, nor Nature never lends
> The smallest scruple of her excellence
> But, like a thrifty goddess, she determines
> Herself the glory of a creditor,
> Both thanks and use.

This is a point of view which not only hopes for a larger nobility in life, but seeks to promote it. There is charity, a tolerance grown of experience, in Escalus; it is particularly evident in his appeal to Angelo:

> Ay, but yet
> Let us be keen, and rather cut a little,
> Than fall, and bruise to death. Alas, this gentleman,
> Whom I would save, had a most noble father!
> Let but your honour know,
> Whom I believe to be most strait in virtue,
> That, in the working of your own affections,
> Had time cohered with place or place with wishing

> Or that the resolute acting of your blood
> Could have attain'd the effect of your own purpose,
> Whether you had not sometime in your life
> Err'd in this point which now you censure him,
> And pull'd the law upon you.

Charity and humour go together in his instructions to Elbow :

> Truly, officer, because he hath some offences in him that thou wouldst discover if thou couldst, let him continue in his courses till thou knowest what they are.

Is it not therefore palpably an error to take *Measure for Measure* as a cynic's play? The most loathsome creature in it is Abhorson, the man whose profession it is to cut life off. Even its most fallible mortals, like Lucio, and Pompey, and Mistress Overdone, somehow creep into our sympathy if not into our affection. And in those whose lot brings them in closest touch with the erring there grows a benevolent sense of human kindness : the governor of the prison, the Provost as he is called, is one of the most humane figures in the play. The mere bulk of evil which is spread across the scene of *Measure for Measure* is in itself no indication of the mood of the author. The greater the evil, the greater the author's faith in the goodness which can overcome it. And the evil in the play is nominally vanquished by the forces of virtue which the Duke and Isabella bring against it. That their conquest is more nominal than real simply means that Shakespeare's dramatic art has not welded his matter into an imaginative organism. But the intention seems patent. There is virtue in man to make life well worth the living.

It is with *All's Well*, however, that Shakespeare most positively emerges from his doubt. Evil is rampant here too : but All's Well that Ends Well—and it does indubitably end well. Perhaps in no other of Shakespeare's plays does the issue of the action depend so exclusively on the action of its heroine. The plot is in fact what Helena wills it to be : and the upshot of the plot is to her the happy dissolution of her sufferings. What, then, is it in Helena's nature which makes her the discoverer and the purveyor, or, indeed, the maker of happiness?

Falstaff's effectiveness in life was built on his unswerving

devotion to a realistically calculated scheme of his own advantages, and a refusal to be diverted by imponderable ideals. Isabella triumphed through a more conventional goodness which incorporated spiritual ideals, but which formalised them by their abstraction from instinctive human sentiments and common human feelings. Helena defies all the schemes of human reason, all the injunctions of systematised common sense. She relies entirely on the " prompture of the heart."

She achieves her happiness in the first place by her cure of the King. Her project is an impossibility in common sense. The King recognises it as a gross piece of unreason :

> We thank you, maiden ;
> But may not be so credulous of cure,
> When our most learned doctors leave us and
> The congregated college have concluded
> That labouring art can never ransom nature
> From her inaidible estate ; I say we must not
> So stain our judgment, or corrupt our hope,
> To prostitute our past-cure malady
> To empirics, or to dissever so
> Our great self and our credit, to esteem
> A senseless help when help past sense we deem.

Nor does Helena pretend that her hope is reasonable : it is simply a blind faith—

> There's something in't
> More than my father's skill, which was the greatest
> Of his profession, that his good receipt
> Shall for my legacy be sanctified
> By the luckiest stars in heaven.

But the event proves the truth of her faith. Similarly, in the eyes of plain reason, her pursuit of Bertram is folly, and the prospect of her fulfilling his conditions well nigh impossible. But once more, she succeeds.

To what does she owe her operant power?

> Impossible be strange attempts to those
> That weigh their pains in sense.

Like the Countess, aware of her love both for her son and for Helena, she has no skill in sense to make such distinctions. She trusts implicitly to her instinctive feelings and refuses to square

her guess by apparent reason. The promptings of her blood are for her the show and seal of nature's truth. With this as her guide, she achieves her goodness. But in achieving her own good, she is the instrument by which the good of others is attained. She cures the King, she inspires joy in the hearts of the Countess and of Lafeu, her most questionable trickery does good to the Florentine girl, and in the end she will surely work out Bertram's salvation. The search for happiness, prompted by love and sympathy, has in the event become service dedicated to the happiness of others. Even her love for Bertram is the dedication of herself to his service :

> I give
> Me and my service, ever whilst I live,
> Into your guiding power.

When Bertram turns scornfully from her, she requests the King to withdraw the promised reward :

> That you are well restored, my lord, I'm glad :
> Let the rest go.

When Bertram imposes his impossible conditions, she hears them in selfless humility :

> What's his will else? What more commands he? In every way I wait upon his will.

And when his resolution to leave France for the Italian wars is conveyed to her, her comment on his cruel letter is merely self-recrimination :

> Poor lord! Is't I
> That chase thee from thy country and expose
> Those tender limbs of thine to the event
> Of the non-sparing war? And is it I
> That drive thee from the sportive court, where thou
> Wast shot at with fair eyes, to be the mark
> Of smoky muskets? O you leaden messengers,
> That ride upon the violent speed of fire,
> Fly with false aim ; move the still-piecing air,
> That sings with piercing ; do not touch my lord.
> Whoever shoots at him, I set him there ;
> Whoever charges on his forward breast,
> I am the caitiff that do hold him to't ;
> And, though I kill him not, I am the cause
> His death was so effected ; better 'twere . . .

> That all the miseries which nature owes
> Were mine at once. No, come thou home, Rousillon,
> Whence honour but of danger wins a scar,
> As oft it loses all: I will be gone;
> My being here it is that holds thee hence:
> Shall I stay here to do't? no, no, although
> The air of paradise did fan the house
> And angels officed all.

Here, then, is Helena, the embodiment of sheer natural goodness, and her career is a demonstration of the effectiveness of mere natural goodness in dispensing happiness to mankind. Helena's happiness is contingent on the happiness of others: her success is not the mere consummation of her own desires, but the amelioration of human lot by her pervasive benevolence. That the world, and man, should be at woman's command, and no hurt done; on the contrary, that everything should be so radiantly the better for it: all *is* well that ends well.

Admittedly, the play leaves Bertram's regeneration as a mortgage on the future. And until Helena's miraculous power has been realised, it may seem as if Bertram is beyond salvation. There is for instance the sublime impertinence of his final acceptance of Helena

> If she, my liege, can make me know this clearly,
> I'll love her dearly, ever, ever dearly.

—that, too, from a man who has just been exposed as an unconscionable twister and an arrant liar. But Bertram is still young; he has fallen into bad company: and the real cause of his wickedness is that he lacks the intuition by which the worth of men is measured. He is completely wrong in his judgment of Helena, of Lafeu and of Parolles. His very poltroonery is a negative tribute to the value of instinct and intuition in guiding man through life.

At an earlier point, attention was drawn to the presence in *All's Well* of a group of elders in whom the passing of years and the growing experience of life had instilled a rich benignity of temper, a group whom time had endowed with grace and benevolence. Of other motifs in the affairs of *All's Well*, the most striking is one which seems to be a coherent refutation of

Falstaffianism. In many ways, Parolles is Falstaff viewed with other eyes. Parolles has prattled himself into peril: to save himself from the foolhardiness of his tongue, the plausive invention with which he tries to carry it is a replica in detail of one of Falstaff's major coups: "I must give myself some hurts, and say I got them in exploit: yet slight ones will not carry it; they will say, 'Came you off with so little?' and great ones I dare not give." And although for a week a man like Parolles may escape a great deal of discoveries, although a knowing man like Lafeu may think him for two ordinaries a pretty wise fellow, his tricks are soon apparent to all. He will return with an invention, as did Falstaff, and clap upon you two or three probable lies. But he is soon known for what he is, found a very sprat, and when you once find him out, you know him ever after: never will you find it in your heart to repent.

When Helen describes Parolles—

> I know him a notorious liar,
> Think him a great way fool, solely a coward;
> Yet these fixed evils sit so fit in him,
> That they take place, when virtue's steely bones
> Look bleak i' the cold wind: withal, full oft we see
> Cold wisdom waiting on superfluous folly—

the description seems applicable, not only to Parolles, but to Sir John, once the appraiser has become aware that "where an unclean mind carries virtuous qualities, there commendations go with pity; they are virtues and traitors too." Is not the final discomfiture of Parolles, his ignominious acceptance of mere existence, a veritable re-assessment of Falstaff's ideal that the preservation of the body and the appetitive organism is the major end of life?—

> if my heart were great,
> 'Twould burst at this. Captain I'll be no more;
> But I will eat and drink, and sleep as soft
> As captain shall: simply the thing I am
> Shall make me live . . .
> Rust, sword! cool, blushes! and, Parolles, live
> Safest in shame! being fool'd, by foolery thrive!
> There's place and means for every man alive.

Helena, too, has her own comments on the Falstaffian principle that discretion is the better part of valour. "You go so much

backward when you fight," she tells Parolles; and to his plea that "That's for advantage" she caustically rejoins "So is running away, when fear proposes the safety: but the composition that your valour and fear makes in you is a virtue of a good wing, and I like the wear well." The King in his turn assesses the worth of wit in life, and remarks on its hostility to honour. Bertram's father, he says, in his youth

> had the wit which I can well observe
> To-day in our young lords; but they may jest
> Till their own scorn return to them unnoted
> Ere they can hide their levity in honour.

Similarly, the King's exposition of honour is almost a counter-blast to Falstaff's catechism of it:

> She [Helena] is young, wise, fair;
> In these to nature she's immediate heir,
> And these breed honour: that is honour's scorn,
> Which challenges itself as honour's born
> And is not like the sire: honours thrive
> When rather from our acts we them derive
> Than our foregoers: the mere word's a slave
> Deboshed on every tomb, on every grave
> A lying trophy, and as oft is dumb
> Where dust and damn'd oblivion is the tomb
> Of honour'd bones indeed.

It is odd that a play in which so many of those values which have proved themselves in the real experience of men down the centuries are reasserted and confirmed should be accounted the work of a cynical dramatist, whilst the very propositions concerning human conduct which they confute are those embodied in a play which is taken to be the outcome of his hilarious delight in the richness of life.

*All's Well* is Shakespeare's escape from the tyranny of Falstaff and from his infectious and rapturous denial of the spiritual life. "Instinct," apart from the appetite for food and drink, was for Falstaff a mere counter which his wit, his calculating reason, could use for the good of his own belly. "Instinct" for Helena is an incalculable inspiration, something embedded in the consciousness of man by the pressure of circumstance in every successive epoch of human existence, a force which surges in her heart and

guides her towards endeavours which are for ever extending the resources and revealing the opportunities in man's existence.

It is, of course, easy to find that Helena's trust in her intuitions is arbitrarily arranged to lead to a successful achievement. Dramatically, the play hardly generates the imaginative conviction that the good she secures must necessarily come out of the circumstances presented. But the wresting of the tale to a nominally happy ending is surely a mark of Shakespeare's deliberate opinion that love and human charity are what makes living worth while. The view imposes itself too strongly on his artistic impulse, which is constrained to shape the play to a given pattern, and is forbidden to let the imagination carry the persons to a destiny such as might have been perceived only by its own unimpeded insight into the ways of man.

In fact instinct and intuition are deliberately written up, because neglect of them had brought about the collapse of Falstaff. But in the reaction too much is claimed for them. Doubtless

> holy writ in babes hath judgment shown,
> When judges have been babes ; great floods have flown
> From simple sources, and great seas have dried
> When miracles have by the greatest been denied,

but experience hardly justifies certainty and confidence in every claimant to inspiration. "As we are ourselves, what things are we!" Experience, knowledge of life and of men, the wisdom which comes from traffic with the world, the *savoir faire* which a Lafeu has learnt from living : this is the temper which helps to discriminate between right and wrong impulse. It is a temper, a sense of worldly wisdom, which, one suddenly recollects, is one of the gifts of John Falstaff.

Can Shakespeare's imagination shape a human figure in whose nature sensibility to intuitive promptings will be joined with respect for plain reason? One, that is, in whom heart and mind will work in unison? One who will be the embodiment of a common sense all the richer and the more widely common because it is not the common sense of mere reason, but the common sense which is the product of all man's susceptibilities? The discovery of so rich a personality was Shakespeare's last step in the consummation of comedy. Rosalind, Viola and Beatrice are the final answer. They are the spirit of comedy incarnate.

# THE FIRST EPISTLE OF JOHN AND THE FOURTH GOSPEL.[1]

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THERE are in the New Testament five works attributed to "John," though only one of them, the Apocalypse, contains that name in the text. Traditionally all five are the work of a single author. But this view was by no means unanimously held in antiquity. Many of the leading scholars of the Eastern Church refused to identify the author of the Apocalypse with the Evangelist, and there were doubts about the Second and Third Epistles. So far as we know, however, no one doubted that the First Epistle was written by the Evangelist, and the prevailing view in modern times agrees. In this country, especially since the discussions by Charles in his commentary on the Apocalypse (I.C.C.) and by Dr. Brooke in his commentary on the Johannine Epistles (in the same series), the identity of authorship is generally regarded almost as *chose jugée*. In spite of their weighty arguments I confess myself not wholly convinced. The question may, I think, be profitably re-opened.

That the two works are, at any rate, very closely related is obvious. Most of the themes treated in the Epistle are present also in the Gospel, and in a general way the theological standpoint represented in the two writings is the same, at least in comparison with any other part of the New Testament. This point I need not elaborate.

Not only the ideas of the two writings, but their ways of expressing those ideas are similar. Dr. Brooke, whose introduction to the Epistles in the I.C.C. provides a full and judicial presentation of the evidence, enumerates some fifty phrases in the First

[1] An amplification of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on 9th December, 1936.

Epistle which have close parallels in the Gospel. The best way to get a fair impression of the extent of the common material is to underline in a text of the Epistle those expressions which echo the Gospel more or less exactly. A glance at the result will then show how short are those passages in the Epistle which are free from such echoes.

The general style of the two writings also shows great similarity. Its prevailing colour is determined by the fact that neither of them makes use, with few exceptions, of the periodic structure characteristic of Greek literary prose in general. Parataxis and asyndeton prevail. Sentences are usually short. Consequently there is a regularly recurring equal stress upon the emphatic word of the sentence, in place of the gradation of stresses, moving to a climax, which determines the rhythm of Greek literary prose. In place of the period, with its structure of principal and subordinate clauses, we have very frequently a combination of two parallel clauses, the parallelism being either of the nature of repetition or, more often, of antithesis. These figures, parataxis, asyndeton, parallelism and antithesis, determine the characteristic rhythm of both writings. It is a slow, regular rhythm, with a measured beat, producing an impression of solemnity and mystery, congruous with the religious tone of the thought. Further stylistic traits common to both have been set out in Dr. Brooke's Introduction. As he says, this far-reaching similarity of style could not be accounted for by any superficial imitation. We conclude that either the two works are from one hand, or the writer of the one was influenced, not superficially but profoundly, by the other, whether that influence was due to personal discipleship, or to a deep and prolonged study of his work, or to both.

When, however, we have fully recognised the close kinship of the two writings, we must also observe that there are differences between them, both in form and content, which are by no means negligible. I will call attention to some such differences, first in style and language, and then in thought.

## I. Comparison of Style and Language.

In spite of general similarity, the style cannot be said to be identical in the two works. I will venture to appeal to the

impression—the æsthetic or emotional impression if you will—made upon the reader. There is surely to be felt in the Fourth Gospel a richness, a subtlety, a penetrating quality about the style which is missing in the Epistle. While the rhythm of both is slow and regular, in the Gospel it is subtly varied, within the limits imposed by its general character, but in the Epistle regularity often descends to monotony. The language of the Gospel has an intensity, a kind of inward glow, a controlled excitement, which I do not feel in the Epistle. The language of the Epistle is correct, usually (though not always) lucid, sometimes forcible and epigrammatic, but in reading it I do not feel as I do in reading the Gospel that here is a man who, with a narrow range of grammatical idiom, as well as of vocabulary, has genuine power of style. I believe many readers have this feeling, and it is often accounted for by the hypothesis that the Epistle is the work of the Evangelist in his old age, when his powers had begun to fail.

However, all this is mere impressionism. No critical conclusions can fairly be drawn from such subjective data. How then shall we find objective tests for style? It would, I think, be generally agreed that in Greek writers the use of grammatical words and particles, and of compound verbs, in both of which the language is so rich, provides a significant indication of the character of a writer's style. To these we may add certain preferred idioms and rhetorical figures.

1. Grammatical words and particles.

(*a*) Prepositions.

The Epistle has the eleven common prepositions without which Greek can hardly be written: ἀπό, διά, εἰς, ἐκ, ἐν, ἐπί, κατά, μετά, περί, πρός and ὑπέρ, and in addition ἔμπροσθεν, ἐνώπιον, χάριν. *Total*, 14.

The Gospel has all these except χάριν, and in addition, ἀνά, ἀντί, ἐπάνω, ὀπίσω, παρά, πέραν, πρό, σύν, ὑπό, ὑποκάτω. *Total*, 23.

(*b*) Adverbial particles (true adverbs, formed from adjectives, not included).

The Epistle has ἄρτι, ἔξω, ἤδη, νῦν, οὔπω, οὕτως, πάλιν, ποῦ, πῶς. *Total*, 9.

The Gospel has all these, and in addition, ἄνω, ἄνωθεν, ἀπάρτι, δεῦρο, δεῦτε, εἶτα, ἐκεῖ, ἐκεῖθεν, ἐνθάδε ἐντεῦθεν, ἔπειτα, ἔσω, ἔτι, ἐχθές,

κάτω, λάθρᾳ, μηκέτι, ὁμοῦ, ὅμως, οὐκέτι, πάντοτε, πόθεν, πότε, ποτέ, πρωί, τότε, ὧδε. *Total*, 36.

(c) Conjunctive and other particles.

The Epistle has γάρ, δέ, ἐάν, εἰ, ἕως, ἤ (" than "), ἵνα, καθώς, καί, κἄν, μή, μηδέ, ὅταν, ὅθεν, ὅτι, οὐ, οὐδέ, ὡς. *Total*, 18.

The Gospel has all these except ὅθεν, and in addition, ἐπεί, ἤ (" or "), ἤπερ, ἴδε, ἰδού, καίτοιγε, μέν, μέντοι, μήποτε, ναί, ὅτε, οὐκοῦν, οὖν, οὔτε, οὐχί, πότερον, τε, ὥσπερ, ὥστε. *Total*, 36.

It is clear that the Gospel is much richer in particles than the Epistle. The statistics thus confirm the impression that the style of the Epistle is more monotonous and less flexible. It is further to be observed that the particles common to both are used with differing frequency. Thus γάρ, which is frequent in the Gospel, occurs only twice in the Epistle ; while ὅτι, which averages four times per page (of Nestlé) in the Gospel, occurs no less than 71 times in the 9 pages of the Epistle, just twice as often. The Gospel again prefers εἰ, while the Epistle prefers ἐάν. But preferences in the use of particles are an unconscious index of the way in which a writer's mind works.[1]

2. Compound Verbs.

The Epistle has the following : ἀναγγέλλειν, ἀπαγγέλλειν, ἀφιέναι, ἀποστέλλειν, ἐπαγγέλλειν, ἐξέρχεσθαι, καταγινώσκειν, μεταβαίνειν, παράγειν. περιπατεῖν, ὑπάγειν. *Total*, 11.

The Gospel has all these except ἐπαγγέλλειν and καταγινώσκειν, and in addition—

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Verbs compounded with | | | ἀνα- | 10 |
| ,, | ,, | ,, | ἀπο- | 9 |
| ,, | ,, | ,, | δια- | 7 |
| ,, | ,, | ,, | εἰσ- | 2 |
| ,, | ,, | ,, | ἐκ- | 12 |
| ,, | ,, | ,, | ἐν- | 7 |
| ,, | ,, | ,, | ἐπι- | 10 |
| ,, | ,, | ,, | κατα- | 9 |
| ,, | ,, | ,, | μετα- | 1 |
| ,, | ,, | ,, | παρα- | 7 |

[1] Compare the use made of such data in Harrison, *Problem of the Pastoral Epistles*, pp. 34-38.

| | |
|---|---|
| Verbs compounded with περι- | 5 |
| ,, ,, ,, προσ- | 5 |
| ,, ,, ,, συν- | 10 |
| ,, ,, ,, ὑπο- | 2 |
| | 96 |

*Total*, 105, more than nine times as many as in the Epistle.[1]

This result confirms that of our investigation of the use of particles, namely that the style of the Gospel is richer, more varied, and more flexible than that of the Epistle.

3. Idioms and rhetorical figures.

A. First, while several characteristic idioms of the Gospel recur in the Epistle, it is not without significance that in the Epistle at least two such idioms are used to excess. It will be well to take as a standard for comparison passages of the Gospel which are similar to the Epistle in length and general character. For convenience I have taken the following passages :—

α. v-vi : mainly discourse, and almost the same length as the Epistle.

β. vii. 14-x. 21, omitting the *pericopé adulterae* as a non-Johannine interpolation, and ch. ix, as having a different character. The residue is of nearly the same length as the Epistle, and is practically all discourse.

γ. xiv-xvii : almost the same length, and entirely of the nature of discourse.

The idioms in question are—

(i) The use of the participle with the article as a substantive. In α this construction occurs thirty-two times, in β, seventeen times, and in γ, thirteen times. In the Epistle, which occupies very nearly the same number of pages as each of these passages, it occurs forty-seven times, that is to say, more than twice as often as the average for these three passages, and half as often again as the highest number for the Gospel.

(ii) The articular participle strengthened by prefixing πᾶς— πᾶς ὁ ποιῶν, πᾶς ὁ ἀγαπῶν, and the like. In α this idiom

[1] In reckoning I ignore vii 53-viii 11 and other passages rejected by Westcott and Hort.

occurs twice, in β, once, and in γ, once ; in the Epistle, thirteen times, the same number as in the whole Gospel.

It is, of course, natural enough that a writer should at times overwork his favourite idioms, but on the other hand it is just such mannerisms that impose themselves upon an imitator.

B. Secondly, there are idioms preferred by the writer of the Epistle which are either comparatively rare or non-existent in the Gospel.

(i) The rhetorical question. In the Epistle we find the question used as a definite rhetorical figure four times : " Who is the liar ? " (ii. 22) ; " How does the love of God abide in him ? " (iii. 17) ; " Why did he slay him ? " (iii. 12) ; " Who is the conqueror ? " (v. 5).

The Gospel does not use the question form in this way. It is doubtful if it supplies any example of the true rhetorical question if we except jesting Pilate's (xviii. 38), and this is scarcely a parallel. The usage of the Epistle is that which is common in the Greek philosophical *Diatribé*, as also in the Epistles of Paul and James.

(ii) The definition, introduced by " This is . . . " or the like, e.g. " This is the message . . . that God is light" (i. 5). There are eight examples of this figure in the Epistle, four only in the whole of the Gospel.[1]

(iii) The conditional sentence. As a grammatical construction, this is very common both in the Gospel and in the Epistle. We may, however, neglect for our purpose those numerous cases where it is used in a perfectly normal way, the protasis stating a condition, and the apodosis introducing a fresh fact which is contingent upon the realisation of the condition. The Epistle, however, uses the conditional sentence in a variety of rhetorical figures which are unknown to the Gospel, though there are certainly contexts in which they might appropriately have been used.

(*a*) Sentences of the form, " If we know that A is B, then we also know that C is D."

*Ἐὰν εἰδῆτε ὅτι δίκαιός ἐστιν, γινώσκετε ὅτι πᾶς ὁ ποιῶν δικαιοσύνην ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγέννηται* (ii. 29),

and similarly v. 15.

[1] The use of *οὗτός ἐστιν, τοο ὗτό ἐστιν*, which is common in the Gospel, and also in the Epistle, is different.

(*b*) Sentences where the protasis is of the form, "If we say that A is B," and the apodosis introduces no fresh idea, but is a simple denial of the statement.

*Ἐὰν εἴπωμεν ὅτι ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ ἔχομεν, ἑαυτοὺς πλανῶμεν* (i. 8),

and similarly i. 6.

(*c*) Sentences where the fact expressed in the apodosis is not really contingent upon the protasis.

*Εἰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων λαμβάνομεν, ἡ μαρτυρία τοῦ θεοῦ μείζων ἐστίν* (v. 9).

The real meaning is, "If we receive the testimony of men, much more ought we to receive the testimony of God, since the testimony of God is superior." The expression is elliptical.

*Ἐὰν ὁμολογῶμεν τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν, πιστὸς καὶ δίκαιός ἐστιν ἵνα ἀφῇ ἡμῶν τὰς ἁμαρτίας* (i. 9).

The meaning is, "He is faithful and just, and therefore, if we confess our sins He will forgive."

*Ἐάν τις ἁμάρτῃ, παράκλητον ἔχομεν* (ii. 1).

The expression is again elliptical. The meaning is, "Christ is our advocate: if we sin, He will intercede."

Probably iii. 20 is of the same character:—

*Ἐὰν καταγινώσκῃ ἡμῶν ἡ καρδία, (ὅτι) μείζων ἐστὶν ὁ θεὸς τῆς καρδίας ἡμῶν.*

God is, in any case, "greater than our heart." This is in no sense contingent on the protasis. The true apodosis is suppressed.

In these cases the writer of the Epistle has used the form of conditional sentence for rhetorical purposes in a freer or looser way than is to be found in the Gospel. There is nothing illegitimate, or perhaps even very unusual, in such uses. Whether they are rhetorically effective is a matter of taste. But the fact remains that in the Gospel, a much longer work, no similar examples occur.

C. Thirdly, there is a range of idioms in the Fourth Gospel to which Burney (*The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel*) called attention as indications of Aramaism in the Greek. Not all of these can be accepted as such, since they have in part

parallels in Koiné Greek as we know it from papyri. Some of them, however, do seem to be most easily explained as Aramaisms, and of others it may be said that though they may be justified by parallels in the papyri, their over frequent use is probably attributable to the influence of Aramaic. Whether we regard them as Aramaisms or not, it remains true that they are peculiar idioms, and characteristic of the style of the Fourth Gospel. The most significant of these idioms are as follows :—

(*a*) Various uses of ἵνα and ὅτι, where it may be that the Aramaic ד underlies, and has been in some cases misunderstood (Burney, pp. 70, 75-78, 101). There is one apparent use of such a construction in I John v. 9, where the best MSS. read *αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ μαρτυρία τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅτι μεμαρτύρηκε περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ.* The T.R. reads *ἣν* for *ὅτι*, and this seems to give the simplest sense. This might be explained as a confusion of ד as a conjunction ('that') with ד as a relative ('which'). But it is possible to read *ὅτι* with its proper meaning.

(*b*) The relative pronoun used in the singular, where the plural seems to be called for: e.g. xvii. 2, *ἵνα πᾶν ὃ δέδωκας αὐτῷ δώσῃ αὐτοῖς ζωὴν αἰώνιον* (Burney, pp. 101-102). This might well be accounted for as an imitation (or mistranslation) of the indeclinable ד. This construction, common in the Gospel, is unknown to the Epistle.

(*c*) The relative completed by a pronoun: e.g. *οὗ ἐγὼ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐγὼ ἄξιος ἵνα λύσω αὐτοῦ, τὸν ἱμάντα τοῦ ὑποδήματος* i. 27 (Burney, pp. 84-85). This accords with Aramaic usage, but is too common in papyri to be accounted properly an Aramaism. The construction does not occur in the Epistle.

(*d*) Pleonastic pronoun prefixed, e.g. ix. 18, *τοὺς γονεῖς αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀναβλέψαντος*, ix. 13, *ἄγουσιν αὐτὸν . . . . τὸν ποτε τυφλόν* (Burney, pp. 85-86). This construction, unnatural in Greek, corresponds with common Aramaic idiom. It is not found in the Epistle.

(*e*) Pleonastic pronoun resumptive, e.g. i. 33, *ὁ πέμψας με βαπτίζειν ἐν ὕδατι ἐκεῖνός μοι εἶπεν* (Burney, pp. 63-65).

This construction, unnatural in Greek, but corresponding to Aramaic idiom, is characteristic of the Fourth Gospel, but is not found in the Epistle.

(*f*) Forms of negative expression (Burney, pp. 98-100): οὐκ ἄνθρωπος for "no one" (= Aramaic לא אנש), several times in the Gospel, not in the Epistle; οὐκ . . . εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, for "never," several times in the Gospel, not in the Epistle; πᾶς . . . οὐ (or μή) for "no one," twice in the Gospel, eight times in the Epistle. But it is not clear that either in the Gospel or in the Epistle this is a true Aramaism, since in every case, unless it be I John ii. 21, there seems to be a definite intention to present the subject as a totality and then to deny the predicate, and not simply to deny the predicate of *any* member of the class.

We have therefore six conspicuous types of construction (to omit other types adduced by Burney which seem less significant) which present at least a *prima facie* case for Aramaism in the Gospel, and of these only two are doubtfully represented in the Epistle. If we should conclude that the Greek of the Gospel has indeed an Aramaic colouring—and I think it is difficult to resist this conclusion,—then it is certainly an important fact that the Epistle lacks such colouring, except to such a small extent as might be readily accounted for by the direct influence of the Gospel upon its author. Some years ago the Manchester Hellenistic Seminar undertook a careful examination of the language of the Epistle for traces of Aramaism, and had to report that no such traces were to be found, apart from the two uses noted above, unless one should regard as Aramaism the use of asyndeton and parataxis, and the somewhat excessive use of personal pronouns. But these do not require to be explained by the hypothesis of Aramaic influence in the Epistle. If they go at all beyond the usage of non-literary Koiné as represented by papyri, they are just such traits of style as might be caught by an imitator of the Gospel. And if we are to accept, with Torrey and Burney, actual cases of mistranslation in the Gospel—and I think that some of the cases they allege have much plausibility—then we must say that the Epistle affords no such case, if we accept the possibility of ὅτι in v. 9.

The bearing of this upon the question of the authorship of the Epistle depends upon the view taken of the Gospel. If we reject the view of Burney and Torrey, that the Gospel, as a whole, is a translation of an Aramaic original [1]—a view which has found little acceptance, and which I believe is almost demonstrably false—then there are two possibilities. Either the Evangelist was bilingual, and sometimes thought in Aramaic while he wrote in Greek, or he was a monoglot Greek and used Aramaic sources which had been literally translated into Greek. That he may have had such sources, whether written or oral, is in itself probable enough, but although putative Aramaisms may be more common in some parts than in others, the Aramaic colouring in the style seems too pervasive to allow us to mark off portions of the work as representing Aramaic sources while attributing other portions to free Greek composition. It seems therefore probable that the Gospel is the work of a bilingual writer. There is no evidence that the writer of the Epistle was such a person.

From style we turn to vocabulary. In view of the much greater length of the Gospel, and the greater variety of its themes, we shall be prepared to find that its vocabulary is very much more extensive, and so indeed it is. It is the more striking to find that the Epistle has no fewer than thirty-nine words or expressions which are not to be found in the Gospel.[2] This, however, is proportionately no greater than the number of words to be found in any given Pauline Epistle which do not occur in any other Pauline Epistle.[3] Indeed in most of the Epistles a larger number of such words occurs. We should, however, bear in mind (i) that the Fourth Gospel is more than twice the length of the longest Pauline Epistle, and therefore more likely to contain a fairly representative vocabulary, and (ii) that Paul has a large vocabulary, and that the Johannine vocabulary, if we take the Gospel and the

[1] If this view seemed tenable, it would be tempting to recognise in the author of the Epistle the translator of the Gospel.

[2] Including the phrases, *πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ*, *ἡμέρα τῆς κρίσεως*, *ὁμολογεῖν ἁμαρτίας*, *ὀνόματι πιστεύειν* , where, though the constituent words are found in the Gospel, their combination forms a distinct locution which is not found there.

[3] See Harrison, *The Problem of the Pastoral Epistles*, pp. 20-26.

First Epistle together, is a relatively small one, so that the number of peculiar words in the Epistle is more noticeable.

As for words which occur in the Gospel but not in the Epistle, many of them are such that their absence could in no case be significant, since they belong to the narrative or other portions of the work which have no parallel in the Epistle. But there are certain words and groups of words which are either so frequent in the Gospel, or so intimately connected with leading Johannine ideas, that their absence from the Epistle is remarkable. We may classify them as follows, noting the number of times each word occurs in the Gospel.

(i) General religious and theological terms :

| | |
|---|---|
| σώζειν | 6 (+ σωτηρία once) |
| ἀπολλύναι | 10 (+ ἀπώλεια once) |
| ἀνιστάναι | 8 |
| ἀνάστασις | 4 |
| ζωοποιεῖν | 3 |
| εἰρήνη | 6 |
| χάρις | 4 |
| ἁγιάζειν | 4 |
| προσκυνεῖν | 11 |

δεῖ (of divine necessity) 8 (and δεῖ with general reference twice.)

(ii) References to the O.T. and Jewish background :

γραφή (of the Scriptures) 12 (+ γράμματα with this reference once).

γράφειν (with this reference) 10.

| | |
|---|---|
| νόμος | 14 |

(iii) Terms referring to the idea of Judgment : [1]

| | |
|---|---|
| κρίνειν | 19 |
| κρίσις | 11 (+ κριμα once ; in I John only ἡμέρα τῆς κρίσεως which is not in John). |

[1] In spite of the extreme frequency of the theme of judgment in the Gospel, καταγινώσκειν, which occurs in the Epistle, is never used.

(iv) Christological terms :

| | |
|---|---|
| *Κύριος* (of Christ) | 41 (+ 3 doubtful readings) |
| *δόξα* | 18 |
| *δοξάζειν* | 21 (+ 1 doubtful reading) |

(v) Terms special to the Johannine theology :

| | |
|---|---|
| *ἀναβαίνειν* | 16 (in special sense, 5) |
| *καταβαίνειν* | 17 (in special sense, 11) |
| *ἄνω, ἄνωθεν* | 8 (in special sense, 5) |
| *ὑψοῦν* | 5 |

(vi) Other terms characteristic of the Fourth Gospel :

| | |
|---|---|
| *θέλημα* | 11 |
| *ἐξουσία* | 8 |
| *πέμπειν* | 32 |
| *ῥῆμα* | 12 |
| *φιλεῖν* | 13 |
| *φίλος* | 6 |
| *τιμᾶν* | 6 (+ *τιμή* once, *ἀτιμάζειν* once) |
| *ζητεῖν* | 34 |
| *καρπός* (always in metaphor) | 10 |
| *δοκεῖν* | 8 |
| *ἴδιος* | 15 (the Epistle uses *ἑαυτοῦ*) |

These thirty-three terms are all of a kind which might have been serviceable in the composition of such a work as the Epistle, and many of them are so frequent in the Fourth Gospel that it would be somewhat surprising if the same author avoided them completely in writing upon themes akin to those which he treated in the Gospel. Is it likely, we may ask, that this author should have written a second work upon some of the central Christian themes, without using the words which came so easily to him for the ideas of being saved and lost, for grace and peace, for divine judgment, for the will of God, for the divine necessity (*δεῖ*), for " bearing fruit " in Christian living—without referring to Christ as Lord, to His glory, to His descent and ascent, or to the resurrection—without ever falling into such familiar expres-

sions as πέμπειν, ζητεῖν, or φιλεῖν and φίλος? No one can say it is impossible, but on the other hand, it cannot be said that an examination of the vocabulary, any more than of the style, leaves us without misgivings about the common authorship of the two works.

To sum up: The style of the Epistle has a strong general similarity to that of the Gospel, but is on the whole more monotonous and narrower in range, while it nevertheless uses certain idioms and figures which are absent from the Gospel; and it lacks a whole range of idioms which are characteristic of the Gospel, and are plausibly held to indicate a Semitic character from which the Epistle is free. Its vocabulary overlaps with that of the Gospel, but lacks a large number of highly significant terms characteristic of the latter. While these facts cannot be said to disprove identity of authorship, they leave it in grave doubt.

## II. Comparison of Thought.

We turn now from form to content, and enquire how far the ideas of the Epistle, and its religious or theological standpoint, are identical with those of the Gospel, or differ from them significantly.

The extent to which the two writings, as compared with the rest of the New Testament, represent a common standpoint, need not be shown. It is obvious to any reader, and has been elaborated by many commentators. That there are certain differences is also notorious, and not surprising. A writer who exactly repeats himself in two separate works betrays an unfertile mind. Moreover, it is natural enough that some of the themes treated in the Gospel should be lacking in the Epistle, a brief work with a restricted aim.

It is perhaps worthy of note that the Epistle has no quotations from the Old Testament, only one direct allusion to it, and few indirect echoes of Old Testament language, while the Gospel has very many indirect echoes, a large number of direct allusions, and abundant quotations, as well as some arguments which presuppose Rabbinical interpretations of the Old Testament. There is thus an extensive Jewish element in the Gospel, which is almost absent from the Epistle. But this difference might be accounted

for by the difference in aim of the two writings, as well as by the fact that the Gospel purports to transmit the teaching of Jesus, which has a Jewish context. It is to be observed that those chapters of the Gospel which have on the whole most affinity with the Epistle, xiii-xvii, offer few quotations, and fewer indirect echoes of the O.T. than elsewhere.

In order to obtain evidence which might point *prima facie* to difference of authorship, it would be necessary to show that there are in the Epistle a number of divergences from the Gospel which are not isolated or occasional, but represent together a tendency of thought different from, or even inconsistent with, the thought of the Gospel. I believe that this can be shown.

1. In the first place there are several points in which the Epistle stands nearer than the Gospel to general or popular Christian beliefs, and particularly in three respects ; in respect of eschatology, of the significance attached to the death of Christ, and of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit.

(i) It is generally recognised that of all N.T. writings the Fourth Gospel is the one in which the eschatology inherited by Christianity from Judaism is most radically transformed. In the Epistle, on the other hand, the eschatological hope is fully alive. It looks forward to " Day of Judgment " (ἡμέρα τῆς κρίσεως, iv. 17), associated with Christ's " Advent " (παρουσία)—both terms absent from the Fourth Gospel, but characteristic of popular Christian belief. Christians must desire that " when He is manifested we may obtain a confident standing,[1] and not be ashamed before Him at His *parusia* " (ii. 28). Here the term φανερωθῆναι is used with reference to the future Advent of Christ, whereas in the Gospel it is used only of His historical appearance.

This second Advent or manifestation of Christ is associated with a change in the nature, or status, of believers. " We are now children of God, and it has not yet been made manifest what we shall be. We know that if He is manifested we shall be like Him, because we shall see Him as He is " (iii. 2). The writer adds, " Everyone who has this hope in him purifies

[1] παρρησία—a word used in a different sense in the Gospel.

himself, as He is pure." That is to say, the hope of a transfiguration at the second Advent is made into an ethical motive. In the Gospel there is no hint of this. There, the status of " children of God " is absolute. It is attained by " receiving the Logos " (i. 12), or (it is implied) by being " born of the Spirit " (iii. 5), and it is not suggested that there is any higher status yet to be attained. We must observe that the term " rebirth " (παλιγγενεσία) could be used of that transfiguration which the righteous should undergo in the Age to Come (Mt. xix. 28), when they should become " like the angels " (Mk. xii. 25), who are " sons of God " (Lk. xx. 36). It appears that this eschatological belief lies behind the doctrine of rebirth in the Fourth Gospel, since it is there connected with the eschatological idea of the Kingdom of God. The Evangelist means that the eschatological hope of " rebirth," or transfiguration, is now fulfilled, like all other such hopes, for those who believe in Christ. The author of the Epistle does not seem to have understood the doctrine of rebirth in this way. The Christian is indeed " born of God," but that is not the fulfilment, or at least not the final fulfilment, of the eschatological hope. A " child of God " now, he will be something more glorious still at the *parusia*.

The Epistle indeed shares the common conviction of all N.T. writers that the Age to Come has begun, and like the Gospel it affirms that the believer already possesses eternal life. But unlike the Gospel it remains bound to the time-scheme of popular eschatology. While in the Gospel the whole life of the Church is viewed *sub specie eternitatis*, in the Epistle the Church is living in a brief period of preparation and expectancy, on the eve of the fulfilment of its hopes.

The author has a curious proof that the Advent cannot much longer be delayed, a proof which depends entirely upon the acceptance of popular eschatological beliefs. It is a very ancient part of eschatological tradition that before the coming of the Day of the Lord we are to expect the appearance of the great Adversary, Beliar or Antichrist. The fullest exposition of this belief, in a Christian context, is to be found in the Apocalypse of John. In Paul Antichrist appears as the " Man of Sin " (II Thess. ii. 3-10), who is to commit sacrilege in the Temple. In Mark xiii. 14

Antichrist is " the Abomination of Desolation spoken of by Daniel the prophet," who is similarly to profane the Temple. Mark also knows of " false Christs " and " false prophets," whose appearance is to precede the second Advent (xiii. 22), but these are not identified with Antichrist. The author of the Epistle declares that the false prophets, whom he recognises in the heretical teachers who deny the Incarnation, are themselves " antichrists," so that the prophecy of the great Adversary is fulfilled in them. " Every spirit (i.e. every inspired person, or prophet) who does not acknowledge Jesus is not of God ; and this is *τό τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου*, the fact of Antichrist, which you have heard is to come, and which is already in the world " (iv. 3). Because the prophecy is thus fulfilled, we may know that the Advent must be very near : " As you have heard that Antichrist is to come, so now many antichrists have come : from which we know that it is the last hour " (ii. 18).

It is extremely difficult to find a place for this doctrine within the scheme of the Fourth Gospel. There the great Adversary is Satan himself, the Prince of this world, and his day is not yet to come, for by the death and resurrection of Christ he is already judged and cast out. If there is any human Antichrist, it is Judas the traitor, into whom Satan entered, and who is thereafter called, like Paul's Man of Sin, " the son of perdition " (Jn. xiii. 27, xvii. 12, II Thess. ii. 3).[1] The Gospel indeed knows (like Mark) of false Christs to come (" if anyone comes in his own name . . .," v. 43), but such a false Christ is not Antichrist. His coming does not precede the advent of the true Christ. On the contrary he comes too late, when the true Christ has already appeared and been glorified. The idea of a collective Antichrist in the persons of heretical teachers is entirely peculiar to the Epistle. The eschatological myth that lies behind it is either ignored by the Fourth Evangelist, or interpreted by him in an entirely different way.

(ii) The death of Christ is in the Epistle interpreted as an *ἱλασμός* for the sin of the world (ii. 2), much as Paul describes it

[1] The possibility that in describing Judas as *ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας* the Evangelist was alluding to a current designation of Antichrist is a suggestion passed on to us through Professor Lightfoot.

as ἱλαστήριον.[1] God has provided this ἱλασμός (iv. 10) and thereby "forgives us our sins and cleanses us from all unrighteousness" (i. 9). The doctrine of the Epistle then seems clear. It is similar to that which is set forth in Rom. iii. 25, and in Hebrews *passim*, and implied in 1 Pet. i 18-19, Mt. xxvi. 28. In other words it corresponds with general early Christian belief.

In the Fourth Gospel the death of Christ is first and foremost that by which Christ is "glorified" or "exalted" (xii. 23, 32-33, xiii. 31), and by virtue of which He "draws" all men into the sphere of eternal life (xii. 32, xi. 52). It is the means by which the virtue and power of His own being—His flesh and blood—are released for the sustenance of eternal life in mankind (vi. 51). His death is a sacrifice, on the one hand as being self-dedication (ἁγιάζω ἐμαυτόν xvii. 19), and on the other hand, as an expression of His "love to the end" for His own (xiii. 1), as a man will lay down his life for a friend (xv. 13), or a shepherd for his flock threatened by the wolf (x. 15). It is not a sacrifice for the expiation of sin.

The only passage which might reasonably be adduced in support of any doctrine of expiation is that which speaks of Christ as "the Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world" (i. 29). But the precise significance of the symbol of the Lamb here is not certain. If, as is often held (though in my opinion wrongly), it is the Paschal Lamb, then we must observe that the Paschal Lamb was certainly not regarded in the first century, or for many centuries earlier, as an expiatory sacrifice, whatever may have been its original significance. Another view widely held is that the reference is to Isaiah liii. 7. Here the Servant of the Lord, whose life is made a sin-offering, is incidentally compared,

[1] The meaning of these terms I have examined elsewhere (*The Bible and the Greeks*, pp. 82-95). In pagan usage ἱλάσκεσθαι and ἐξιλάσκεσθαι most commonly mean to propitiate or placate. In biblical usage they mean to expiate sin, or to remove the taint of ceremonial or moral impurity, or ultimately to forgive sin. It might seem possible that the description of Christ as παράκλητος πρὸς τὸν πατέρα in a context which speaks of Him also as ἱλασμός (ii. 1-2) suggests the sense of propitiation; but in the same context the blood of Christ is said to cleanse, καθαρίζειν, a term which in the LXX alternates with ἱλάσκεσθαι as a translation of כִּפֶּר. The meaning of ἱλασμός therefore is probably "expiation," i.e. a means of removing guilt, or of forgiveness.

in the LXX, to a lamb (ἀμνός), as also to a sheep (πρόβατον). Ἀμνός, however, is notoriously a mistranslation of the Hebrew רחל "ewe." Burney has shown that in several cases the Fourth Evangelist betrays a knowledge of the Hebrew original in quoting from the O.T. (*Aramaic Origin*, pp. 114-125), and we may doubt whether he would have based a designation of Christ upon a mistranslation. In any case it is not *qua* ἀμνός that the Servant is made a sin-offering. It is His patience under suffering that is the *tertium comparationis*. It may usefully be recalled that the typical sin-offering was not a lamb but a goat. It is thus difficult to suppose that the evangelist would have introduced the idea of expiation in a cryptic allusion which suggests that idea only by such a tortuous process of association. It seems more likely that the symbol of the Lamb is derived, like some other symbols in the Fourth Gospel, from apocalyptic imagery reinterpreted. The horned lamb or young ram is a sufficiently well-established symbol for the Leader of God's flock, and it recurs in the Apocalypse of John in the vision of the Lamb upon Mount Sion (xiv. 1-2). If, however, we do not interpret the Lamb of God as an expiatory offering, then the idea of expiation never occurs in the Fourth Gospel. But this is the doctrine of the Epistle, which in this respect moves on a different level of thought, nearer to that of general early Christian belief.

(iii) The Fourth Evangelist has a very distinctive doctrine of the Holy Spirit. It is true that he sometimes uses the term *pneuma* in that neuter and impersonal sense which is most common in the Old Testament, and which was general in the early Church, to judge from the Acts of the Apostles and from those places in Paul which reflect popular usage. But in the closing discourses of the Fourth Gospel the Spirit is more unequivocally personal than anywhere else in the New Testament. He is, so to speak, Christ's *alter ego*, in whom Christ Himself returns to His people. *Vice Christi*, He teaches and guides them and reminds them of His words. He is the Paraclete. Where pronouns are used, their gender is often masculine, agreeing with the gender of παράκλητος, and not neuter, agreeing with πνεῦμα, as strict grammar would require.

The Epistle, on the other hand, applies the term παράκλητος

to Christ alone, and uses the term *pneuma* in a way which approximates to popular usage as we know it from Paul and the Acts. The two chief passages are iv. 1-6 and v. 6-8. The former passage begins: "Do not believe every *pneuma*, but test the *pneumata* whether they be of God, because many false prophets have gone out into the world." We may compare I Cor. xiv. 32: "The *pneumata* of the prophets are subject to the prophets." *Pneuma* is used in the neuter sense of "prophetic inspiration." The same sense is maintained in the verses which follow. There is a *pneuma* which confesses Christ, and there is a *pneuma* which denies Him. The former is of God, the latter is not. "From this we recognise," adds the writer, "the spirit of truth and the spirit of error." The expression "the Spirit of truth" is used in John xiv. 17, xv. 26, xvi. 13, but in each case this Spirit is described as Paraclete, and is spoken of in fully personal terms. In John iv. 1-6 there is no suggestion of personality in the spirit. The prophet speaks by inspiration and this inspiration may be divine or not divine in its origin and character. In the former case it inspires true utterance, in the latter, false.

The other passage, v. 6-8, is a notorious *crux interpretum*: "It is the spirit that bears witness, because the spirit is the truth. For there are three that bear witness, the spirit and the water and the blood, and these three are in unity." It is unlikely that the witness of the spirit here is the *testimonium Spiritus Sancti internum*, for the water and the blood must stand in some way for external or objective facts by which the true faith is confirmed, and the consentient witness of the spirit must be of the same objective character. In accordance with iv. 1-6 we might understand the reference to be to prophetic inspiration in the Church. As the false prophets, speaking by an inspiration not of God, deny that Christ is come in the flesh, so the true Christian prophets, speaking by divine inspiration, declare the reality of His Incarnation, and this confirms the witness of the historical facts of His Baptism and Passion, a witness which is perpetuated in the sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist. We may compare Ignatius's appeal to his own prophetic utterance in Phil. vii. 1-2. Ignatius recalls how he cried out "with the voice of God"—"Pay heed to the bishop, the presbytery and the deacons." He

adds, " The *spirit* proclaimed, speaking thus, ' Do nothing without the bishop '." If this is the meaning, then πνεῦμα is not more personal here than in iv. 1-6. It is true that the phrase τρεῖς εἰσὶν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες is in the masculine gender, treating the three witnesses as personal. But if this is a personifying of the spirit, it also personifies the water and the blood. It is no true equivalent for the expression in the Gospel : " When the Paraclete comes, whom I shall send to you from the Father, the Spirit of truth which proceeds from the Father, He (ἐκεῖνος) will bear witness concerning Me " (xv. 26).

In these three points therefore the teaching of the Epistle differs from that of the Gospel. The differences have often been observed, though they have sometimes been minimised by harmonising interpretation. But the fact to which I think full justice has not been done is that the differences are not casual or unconnected. They all mean that the Epistle stands very near to the common Christianity of the early period, while the Fourth Gospel shows a remarkable and individual development from this common position. But the three points in question, Eschatology, the Atonement, and the Spirit, are central to early Christian belief and doctrine, and divergences on such points raise serious doubts about unity of authorship.

2. There are passages in the Epistle which suggest that it stands closer than the Gospel to the " Gnosticism " against which both writings are directed. I use the term " Gnosticism " as a convenient label for a tendency in thought which can be traced both within and outside Christianity, e.g. in Philo and the Hermetica, in Valentinus and other Christian heretics. It is generally recognised that both the Fourth Gospel and the First Epistle are in some ways akin to this tendency, while both of them seek to undermine an illegitimate application of Gnosticizing thought to Christianity.

One of the characteristic mannerisms of the writer of the Epistle is his habit of enunciating accepted maxims or axioms of the Christian faith, either by way of definitions beginning with " This is . . .," or with the formula " We know that. . . ." These maxims are usually found to be such as could be documented out

of the common tradition of Christianity in general, or out of the Fourth Gospel in particular. There are, however, two exceptions.

(i) 1 John i. 4: "This is the message which we heard from Him, that God is light." Where is this ἀγγελία to be found? It is not in the Synoptic Gospels, nor in Paul, nor in the Fourth Gospel. On the other hand, it is a commonplace of current Hellenistic religious thought, deriving from an amalgam of Platonism and Zoroastrianism. Thus in the *Poimandres* there is a vision of unbounded light, and this is interpreted to the seer by the god Poimandres: "That light am I, Reason, thy God." (Τὸ φῶς ἐκεῖνο ἐγώ εἰμι Νοῦς ὁ σὸς θεός), and later we have the expression, Ὁ πάντων πατὴρ ὁ Νοῦς, ὢν ζωὴ καὶ φῶς (*Corp. Herm.*, I. 6, 12). Philo, in part, adopts this doctrine of God as light. In *De Praem.* 45 he argues that as all things are perceived by light, but light only by itself, so God, being His own light, is known by means of Himself alone. Elsewhere, he guards himself against too complete an identification of God with light; *De Somn.* I. 75: "First, God is light . . . and not only light, but the archetype of every other light; or rather, more ancient and higher than any archetype." And in *De Opif.* 31, he says that the "light" in Gen. i. 4 is θείου λόγου εἰκών: it stands, not for God, but for the Logos. The personal, transcendent God of his Jewish faith is not to be wholly absorbed in the concept of eternal Light which he derives from Hellenistic speculation. The Fourth Gospel is similarly cautious. For him light is "in" the Logos, or the Logos is itself the φῶς ἀληθινόν (i.e. the archetypal light), and so Christ in his incarnate life is described (in terms borrowed from Jewish language glorifying the Temple and the Law) as "the Light of the World." But God the Father is never described as Light. For the Fourth Evangelist, as for Philo in his more cautious mood, He is higher than the archetypal light. It is, therefore, remarkable that the Epistle formulates the fundamental Christian ἀγγελία in the terms, ὁ θεὸς φῶς ἐστίν (the exact expression which Philo accepts and then qualifies). We may observe that later Christian thought did not hesitate to make use of the idea of God as light, and of Christ as the effulgence of the light—an idea crystallised in the phrase of the Creed, φῶς ἐκ φωτός.

(ii) I John iii. 2: "We know that if He is manifested, we shall be like Him, because we shall see Him as He is." How do we know this? Certain passages in the N.T. may, no doubt, be cited which might constructively be held to justify the statement, but we shall nowhere find this precise inference: we shall see Him as He is: therefore we shall be like Him.[1] It is, however, an inference readily drawn within the universe of discourse of Hellenistic mysticism, which holds as one of its fundamental doctrines that vision, or knowledge, of God as He truly is makes man divine (*Corp. Herm.*, I. 26, etc.). Translated into Christian terms, this gives us the doctrine of the Epistle; the vision of Christ as He is makes us like Him.[2] The Fourth Gospel, however, does not hold out the prospect of becoming like Christ through the vision of Him in His true being. The Epistle again stands nearer to thought of a Gnosticizing type.

If it be thought that a case has been made out for the view that these peculiarities of I John may be explained by reference to "Gnosticism," then we may perhaps seek here a key to some other problems in the interpretation of the Epistle.

In iii. 9 we read, "Everyone who is born of God does not sin, because His seed (σπέρμα) abides in him; and he cannot sin, because he is born of God." There is in the Fourth Gospel no reference to the divine *sperma*. It might indeed be urged that the reference is implicit in the mataphor of divine generation. But surely there is something more here. The divine *sperma* is an element abiding within a man, which guarantees sinlessness.

Now one of the characteristic features of "Gnosticism" in all its forms, is the doctrine that there is resident in man, or at least in some men, a divine element; and if he can disentangle this divine element from the material elements with which it has become involved, it is possible for him to rise to the sphere of

[1] It might be possible to take the second ὅτι (= "because") in direct dependence on οἴδαμεν: "we know that we shall be like Him, and we know it because we shall see Him as He is." The implied major premise is then the frequently enunciated maxim of Hellenistic mysticism "Like is known by like." But this seems a less natural construction.

[2] In view of this remarkable similarity to Hellenistic thought, we might perhaps venture to suggest an answer to the question, What is that mysterious and more glorious destiny that awaits those who are now children of God? Is it θεωθῆναι? Later Christian thought did not shrink from such language.

pure being, and become immortal. In the *Poimandres* the "essential Man" (οὐσιώδης ἄνθρωπος) within empirical humanity is the heavenly Man who fell, and who after enlightenment will ascend again to His Father and be deified. In the *De Regeneratione* the divine element is the Logos formed within a man by rebirth. In *Corp. Herm.* IV, the divine is introduced into human nature by baptism in the Bowl of Reason (νοῦς). For Philo similarly true humanity (ὁ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἄνθρωπος) is the same as "purest Reason" (νοῦς καθαρώτατος), and is identified both with the heavenly Man who is an "offspring" (γέννημα) of God, and with the Logos. In less philosophical terms he speaks of Israel thus: "Their bodies were moulded of human *spermata*, but their souls grew of divine, wherefore they have become kinsfolk of God (ἀγχίσποροι θεοῦ)," *Vit. Mos.* I. 279. Similar ideas are found in the Christian and semi-Christian Gnostics. In the Gnostic Justin's Book of Baruch man is the progeny of Elohim and Eden (or Earth), and while his soul comes from Eden, his *pneuma* is the *pneuma* of Elohim, which is ultimately to be redeemed.[1] In Basilides the God-who-is-not sent forth a *sperma* from which proceeded three "sonships" (υἱοτῆτες). One of these is imprisoned in matter, and its release and ascent is the redemption of man and the restoration of all things.[2] According to Valentinus man was created by the Demiurge, out of lower elements, but Wisdom, unknown to Him, inserted into some men the "spiritual Seed" (σπέρμα πνευματικόν, or σπέρμα τῆς Ἀχαμώθ).[3] Thus there are good souls and evil souls. The former are those which are "receptive of the Seed" (δεκτικαὶ τοῦ σπέρματος).[4] The function of Jesus as Saviour is to open a way for the *spermata* into the *Pleroma*.[5] Final salvation comes "when the Seeds of God have been gathered together."[6]

It appears that a doctrine like that of Valentinus would account for the use of the term *sperma* in the Epistle. Those in whom the σπέρμα τοῦ θεοῦ resides are the "good souls" of Valentinus, which are δεκτικαὶ τοῦ σπέρματος, and accordingly they are sinless. It is to be observed that the writer has not fully harmonised

[1] Hippolytus, *Philosophoumena*, V. 26-27. [2] *Ibid.*, VII. 20-27.
[3] Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.*, I. v. 6, vii. 2, 3; *Excerpta ex Theodoto*, 53, 2.
[4] *Ibid.*, 54, 3. [5] *Ibid.*, 38, 3. [6] *Ibid.*, 49, 1.

this doctrine of sinlessness with his recognition that as a matter of fact Christians do sin, and require an "expiation" and an "advocate with the Father." It can hardly be argued that Valentinus is dependent upon this single N.T. passage for his doctrine of the *sperma*. My object in tracing the development of this doctrine in the Hermetica, Philo, and the Gnostics, was to suggest that the doctrine of Valentinus and the passing allusion in the Epistle alike presuppose a familiar background, in which the idea of the divine *sperma* was current.

Somewhat more diffidently I would suggest a similar explanation for the cryptic allusions to the "anointing" (χρῖσμα), in ii. 20, 27. After referring to the false prophets, the writer goes on, "And *you*" (emphatic ὑμεῖς) "have a chrism from the Most High, and all of you have knowledge." Again, after a further reference to the false teachers, he says, "And as for you" (emphatic ὑμεῖς again, this time out of construction), "the chrism which you received from Him abides in you, and you have no need for anyone to teach you; but as His chrism teaches you (and it is true and no lie), and as He has taught you, abide in Him." The chrism is a means of knowledge. It was received once in the past, and is now an immanent power, teaching the truth. What is the chrism? The accepted answer is, the Holy Spirit, and this answer is supported by passages in which the verb χρίειν is associated with the gift of the Spirit to Christ at His baptism (Ac. iv. 27, x. 38) or to Christians at theirs (II Cor. i. 21). It may be so. If so, we may observe, it betrays a way of thinking about the Spirit which is not quite that of the Fourth Gospel.

But the chrism is, in any case, not explicitly brought into connexion with what the Epistle teaches about the Spirit. The term is introduced, like *sperma*, as though it were a technical term whose meaning would be recognised at once by the readers. Moreover, in each case where it appears, there is a contrast between the heretical teachers and the readers of the Epistle, sharpened by the emphatic use of ὑμεῖς. The language, indeed, of i. 20 might equally well be rendered, "You too have a chrism." Suppose we take that meaning. The implication then is that the heretical teachers claimed a chrism, in virtue of which they possessed

*gnosis* and therefore competence to teach. Is there any reason to suspect that such language was used in Gnostic circles? I think there is. In the Naassene document cited by Hippolytus (v. 9, 121-122), we read, "We alone of all men are Christians, who complete the mystery at the third portal, and are anointed there with speechless chrism." Here then we have heretical teachers who claim to have a superior *gnosis* in virtue of an initiation which is described as a chrism,—exactly the situation we have postulated. That orthodox Christians could take over such language, and claim a true unction over against the false, is shown by Ignatius, Eph. xvii.: "Be not anointed with the ill-odour of the teaching of the Prince of this world, lest he take you captive from the life that is set before you. Why do we not all become wise, receiving the knowledge of God, which is Jesus Christ." The purport of this passage is similar to that of I John ii. 20, 27. To be "anointed" is to be initiated into *gnosis*. The "chrism" is the teaching communicated to Christians at baptism, by which they are initiated into the Christian "mystery." It is "the word of God" which "abides in you" (ii. 14).

I will refrain from adducing other and perhaps more doubtful examples of possible "Gnostic" influence upon the language of the Epistle. I would not be understood to suggest that the writer, in taking over such forms of expression, was intending to teach "Gnostic" doctrine. On the contrary, I conceive him to be, at least in intention, using the weapons of the heretics against themselves. The sense which he would give, for example, to the 'seed' and the 'chrism,' whatever it is, would in any case be different from that which they bear in heretical writings. But we have here evidence that the writer of the Epistle stood in close contact with that movement of religious thought out of which Christian and semi-Christian Gnosticism came. So, indeed, did the Fourth Evangelist. But in the Fourth Gospel the "Gnostic" elements are thoroughly mastered and absorbed into a unified and highly individual Christian theology, and the writer is circumspect in his use of Gnostic-sounding language. In the Epistle primitive Christian and "Gnostic" ways of thought and expression lie side by side. Set forth nakedly as they are, the doctrines of the Sperm and the Chrism, of God as light, and of

assimilation to Christ by the vision of Him, are more unguarded approximations to " Gnosticism," at least in form, than anything to be found in the Fourth Gospel.

To sum up : the doubts of unity of authorship which were suggested by the evidence of style and language are strengthened by a study of the thought. It might be possible to allay such doubts by the hypothesis that the two writings were produced by the same author at different times, if we were to allow a substantial interval during which his thought and style may have altered. We should then have to determine which of the two is likely to have been written earlier. On general grounds it might be argued that the Epistle is the earlier. The writer might reasonably be supposed to have started from a standpoint nearer to that of popular Christianity, and to have developed his distinctive theology as his mind matured. And upon a first contact with " Gnostic " thought he might have been more ready to adopt its phraseology than appeared wise upon further reflection.

But there is definite evidence to suggest that the Fourth Gospel is, in fact, presupposed by the Epistle. Take, for example, the passage on the " new commandment," ii. 7-8. Why this curious play upon " new " and " old " ? It would be difficult to regard it as much more than a rhetorical conceit, unless we assume that the writer and the readers had before them the similar passage in John xiii. 34 : " I give you a new commandment, to love one another." The commandment of love is a " new commandment." In what sense ? Not, says the writer of the Epistle, in the sense that it is an addition to the original Gospel, " which you had from the first " : but in the sense that in Christ there is a new creation ; old things are passed away and all is become new ; " the true light is already shining." This is the fact " which is true in Him, and (consequently) in you " (who are living in the new age which He inaugurated). This reference to the Fourth Gospel gives a clear point to the passage in the Epistle.

Again, in iii. 8-15 we have a passage where the connexion of thought is not too clear at first sight. Its gist is as follows : The child of God does not sin, for he obeys the commandment " love one another." This distinguishes the children of God from the

children of the devil. He who does not love his brother is no child of God (οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ), but of the devil; for he is a murderer (ἀνθρωποκτόνος), like Cain, and no murderer has eternal life. The idea of murder is, to say the least, somewhat abruptly introduced. In John viii. 44-47, however, the ideas, "child of God" (ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ), "child of the devil" (ἐκ τοῦ διαβόλου), and "murderer" (ἀνθρωποκτόνος), are brought together in a context where the reference to murder is in place, because the Jews are seeking to kill Jesus, and thereby prove themselves children of that primeval murderer the devil (viii. 40-41, 44). The thought of the Epistle seems to have been suggested by the passage in the Gospel.

I will forbear to give further examples, and will refer to the argument in Dr. Brooke's Introduction, pp. xix-xxvii, which seems to me to leave little doubt of the priority of the Fourth Gospel.

If, therefore, we take the view that the two writings are the work of a single author, we must conclude that he wrote the Epistle after the Gospel. We should then have to suppose that as he grew older he not only lost something of his power of expression (as witnessed by the inferiority of style), but also reverted in some respects to a more pedestrian outlook; or alternatively that he wrote somewhat carelessly, or deliberately descended to the level of his readers; or perhaps that in writing the Gospel he was lifted above his own level by the splendour of his theme. None of these suppositions can be said to be impossible, but it is perhaps simpler to conclude that the two works are by different authors.[1] If I may close, as I began, on a note of mere impressionism, I should say that the Epistle appears to me, for all its likeness in certain respects to the Gospel, to reveal a mind which thinks and expresses itself in significantly different ways; a mind inferior to that of the Evangelist in spiritual quality, in intellectual power and in literary artistry. The writer of the Epistle has a deep

[1] Those critics who find in the Fourth Gospel evidence of the work of more than one hand might reasonably attribute to the author of the Epistle a share in its composition; but I think the evidence we have considered makes it unlikely that such share went beyond minor editorial work. The mind that gave to the Gospel as a whole its unique stamp is not the mind revealed in the Epistle.

piety, a warm humanity, insight into the ways of the human soul, and a firm grasp of the fundamental Christian Gospel, but to speak of him as a religious genius or a philosophical thinker would be flattery ; yet no description short of this would fit the author of the Fourth Gospel.

I conceive the First Epistle of John, then, to have been written by an author who was quite possibly a disciple of the Fourth Evangelist, and certainly a diligent student of his work. He has soaked himself in the Gospel, assimilating its ideas and forming his style upon its model. He sets out to develop, commend and apply certain of these ideas to meet the particular needs of the situation. His work is therefore in one aspect our earliest commentary upon the Fourth Gospel, and has definite value as such. If he does not fully comprehend the whole range of Johannine thought, he has certainly given an effective and often deeply searching application of its main purport. Nor is his work altogether derivative. He has his own special outlook, and the Epistle represents a definite stage towards that normal or central Christianity which emerged from the New Testament period. Its specific character and significance become clearer when it is no longer read as a great author's second thoughts, but allowed to speak for itself.

# ASPECTS OF SUMERIAN CIVILISATION IN THE THIRD DYNASTY OF UR.

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## VI. The Royal Family.

THE Sumerian word for king is *lugal* or ' great man.' The ' great man ' par excellence was the god. And so Bur Sin speaks of " Nannar (the moon-god) the *lugal* of Ur and Nin-gal (the moon-goddess) the mother of Ur." [1] But there were ' great men ' on earth too ; great perhaps in stature, but certainly in might ; great maybe by nature, if one may make a distinction which the Sumerians may not have made, but certainly great by the gifts of the gods from whom all kingship comes, as it is written in the ancient king-list : " kingship came down from heaven." [2]

On earth kings are " given kingship " by the gods, as was Lugalzaggisi, king of Erech, by Enlil, the king of the lands ; named by the gods, as was Bur Sin, the king of Ur ; loved by them as was Gimil Sin, king of Ur, by Enlil and by Nannar, the moon god ; chosen by them to be shepherd of the land and of the four regions of the earth. Hence the full title of the king is " the great man, the mighty one, king of Ur, king of the four regions of the earth." We have no contemporary evidence of the details of the election, proclamation and enthronement of the kings, except that a few tablets speak of " Bur Sin whose name was spoken in Nippur by Enlil the lord of the earth." It is important to note that these tablets do not all come from Nippur,

[1] SAK., p. 198, d), $2^5$ ff.
[2] OECT., vol. ii. ; WB. 444 ; col. I. : 1, 41.

the city in which the name of Bur Sin was proclaimed. They come also from Erech and even from Ur, the capital city of the kingdom.[1] From this it may be suggested that the naming of the king was at this time done at Nippur, and there only, and not at Ur the capital. Further that the king-maker among the gods, who made all kings, was Enlil, himself the father of the gods, the king of heaven and of earth whose dwelling was on the mount whence he sends the winds, and in the ' mountain-temple ' of his capital Nippur.

It will be recalled that in later days in Babylonia the ' great-man ' took the right hand of Bel (Sumerian *Enlil*) and that there the ' king ' was chosen and named by the god of the land. So that it may be that the later ceremony so reminiscent of the earlier, so far as we know it, is Sumerian in origin ; a suggestion for which there are many antecedent probabilities.

The ' kings ' of the third dynasty of Ur in order of succession are these : Ur-Nammu, reigned eighteen years ; his son, Šulgi, reigned forty-six years ; his son, Bur Sin, reigned nine years ; his son, Gimil Sin, reigned nine years ; his son, Ibi-Sin, reigned twenty-four years.

Two comments may be made on this list. First : the name of three of the kings is compounded of the name of the moon-god, Sin ; or rather, one should say, of one of the names of the moon-god. For the moon-god was known by many names and at this period especially by the name Nannar. The second comment is that at this time a Sumerian kingdom was ruled by one family for one hundred and six (possibly eight) years. No Sumerian family had ruled a kingdom for so long before it and none after it, in Sumer. The Semitic family of Sargon I ruled from Agade for a longer period, but the line was not so direct as that of the kingly line of Ur III, for it was diverted by the passing of the throne from a son of Sargon, Rimuš, to his brother Maništiššu. It is sometimes objected against hereditary kingship that it puts incompetence in charge of the army. From such evidence as we have the objection could not be substantiated in regard to the kings of Ur III.

The sources whence is drawn the information offered in this

[1] SAK., p. 198, g), 196, c). Ur Excavations, vol. I.

article are the clay tablets contemporary with the third Dynasty of Ur. The King-list from which the list of kings in the order of succession and their length of reigns are taken,[1] is of a rather later date. But we can check the tradition represented by the King-list by means of the tablets contemporary with the kings. Indeed even without the King-list we know the number of years of Šulgi, Bur Sin and Gimil-Sin in their order.

The contemporary tablets are, for our purpose, of two kinds : the ' royal ' inscriptions and the ' business ' documents. The former are concerned directly with the reigning king. They are records of his care for the gods in their temples and of outstanding public works. There are comparatively few of these. Here is a sample : " For Enki, his ' king,' has Šulgi, man of might, ' king ' of Ur, ' king ' of Sumer and Akkad, his temple built." Similar records exist of Bur Sin, Gimil Sin and Ibi Sin.

The more important and vastly more numerous class is the class of business documents. These are primarily records of business by whomsoever transacted, whether by ' king ' or by subject. There is no special ' royal ' business record. What the ' king ' did in this respect, either personally or through his agents, is recorded in the ordinary way of business in records of receipt, income and expenditure.

It is from these business records that we get much of our historical knowledge of the period. This is because this mass of seemingly unhistorical matter is dated. The vast majority of the records end with day, month and year. As examples of the year-dates we may take the date-formulæ of the last years of Šulgi and the first years of his successor, Bur Sin.

> Šulgi 44 : " The year when Šulgi, the strong man, ' king ' of Ur, ' king ' of the four regions, destroyed in one day Kimaš, Ḫumurti and their land."
>
> Šulgi 45 : " The year when etc. (as preceding), the year after it."
>
> Šulgi 46 : " The year when Ḫarši, Ḫumurti, Kimaš and their land were destroyed in one day."
>
> Bur Sin I : For a time, the formula of Šulgi 46 is used

[1] OECT., vol. ii., WB. 444 ; col. VIII. : 8-20.

preceded by the words " the year after." Then soon comes the new and proper formula. " The year Bur Sin was king."

Bur Sin II: A few tablets are dated " the year after Bur Sin was ' king.' " But soon we have " The year when Bur Sin destroyed Urbilum."

Bur Sin III: A few commemorate " the year after " the event of the second year; but soon records in all the land are celebrating " the year when Bur Sin the ' king ' made the throne of Enlil."

The same formulæ were in use throughout the kingdom. Thus the celebration of the same king and the same event was universal. Doubtless this uniformity, itself a mark of political unity, was imposed from Ur, the capital city. The psychological effect would be great. Each date imposes royalty, carries it into every home and every business house, more effectively than does the royal face on an English coin. This effect was increased by the circumstance that the date-formulæ was changed every year. That change would be news. It would be matter of anticipation before it was announced and of discussion in homes and street when it became known; discussed as widely and as ' expertly ' as a change of design on modern postage stamps and coinage. Each change announced a new glory of the reigning sovereign; a new good deed for the welfare of the land and the honour of the gods. The king destroys a city, erects a temple, builds a wall, constructs a boat, and the rest. By these things duly recorded on thousands of tablets in circulation in every town, thought and memory of the king were kept before the people. Even the installation of a priest, though nowhere set down as an act of the ' king ' is proof of the royal piety, as is delicately insinuated by Bur Sin whose fourth year is dated " year when the high priest of heaven, priest of Nannar, beloved of Bur Sin, was installed."

The ' great man,' his lady and his children lived in the ' great house ' or palace, sometimes called the ' house of the great man.' We may presume that their home was at Ur, the capital of the kingdom, and there are tablets which mention the ' great house in Ur.' But there were royal residences elsewhere; e.g. Lagash

tablets record a ' great house ' at Girsu and Nina which were parts of Lagash, and at Gaeš, Esagdana and Nippur.[1]

The explanation that comes first to mind is that these houses were for the ' king ' when away from home on royal business of war, administration or cult in the various cities of the kingdom. There are occasional references to the king's movements ; e.g. " when the king went to Nippur,"[2] " when the king went to Ur." [3]

We may venture on an additional reason for the several country houses of the ' great man.' Each city had its temple which, as is known, was a group of buildings or apartments for the gods and their ministers. Now though it may be an exaggeration to say that the ' king ' was a god, yet he was, in a sense unique among men, ' divine,' and thus attached more closely than any other man to the national and city pantheons. It would not be surprising if each city included amongst its chief buildings a ' great house ' which should be a residence of the ' king ' when the king was present and a centre of inferior worship of the ' king ' during his absence.

A tablet in the Rylands collection mentions " the house of Meišdar son of the ' king.' " [4] The house was in Ur. I do not know of any other Ur III tablet which records a house of any other of the royal children. However, the item suggests that a member of the family might have a private residence or apartment independent of the family house, to which supplies were sent, in this instance supplies of oxen and of kids.

We have frequent references to goods " entered into the great-house." These we may take to be part of the revenue of the ' king ' and of his family, who were housed and fed and fêted at the nation's expense, as were the gods themselves. If they did all that they were appointed to do, they deserved more than maintenance. They were to be " shepherds of the land," guardians of justice, and protectors of the poor ; in short a ' popular ' monarchy, far removed in spirit and action from what is usually understood by an ' oriental ' monarchy. A ' king ' in Sumer stood not only for all gods but for all men in the land.

The essential of life was food, which meant principally the

[1] Hussey, II. nos. 115, 120, 122, 126 ; ITT., V. 6963.
[2] *An. Or.* 7, 104. [3] *Ibid.*, 108. [4] JR. 470.

chief cereals (barley, wheat and emmer) and products (meal, bread, malt and beer). The tablets of this sort in the Rylands collection record animals (oxen, sheep, kids) entered into the great house.[1] Others of this class mention delivery of beer, butter, bread, cheese, dates, goat-milk.[2]

The ' currency ' at the time of Ur III was silver and as a medium of purchase would be very useful at times of food-shortage, and not only then. So we have records of silver [3] entered into the palace. And of clothes.[4]

The ' king ' held his possessions of the gods whose tenant he was. How great were his possessions and in what kinds will, perhaps, be disclosed to us by a study of the Ur tablets when published. In the meantime we have scraps of information on the point, and such as it is it is what we might expect. The king's chief needs were food, shelter and clothing. Revenue from the cities of the kingdom supplied some part of his needs. But there were sources of supply which were described as " of the king." Of the " great house " of the king we have already said something. Attached to this, and part of it, was a sheepfold.[5] The sheep would provide wool and the goats provided milk. The wool was worked up, woven into clothing in Gimil-Sin's time, in his own " weaving-shed " by his own " weavers " who were women and children.[6]

Essential food-cereals and vegetables were supplied by the king's fields and gardens. The milling was done by women and children.[7] Other foods for the " king's table " were fish, pigs and butter. The fish are distinguished as fish of the reservoir or lake, and fish of the sea.[8] The milling was an organised industry under a head. There was a royal cook in the royal kitchen, and a royal brewer of the royal beer.[9]

In addition to employees engaged on essential work in his

[1] JR. 139, 165, 170, 173, 437.
[2] E.g. ITT., IV. 7171, 7232, 7248, 8026.
[3] E.g. ITT., II. 4123; V. 7558, 8096; Hussey, II. 112, 118, 124, etc.; TU. 137, III.
[4] ITT., IV. 7753; V. 6810.
[5] E.g. TU. 292, etc.; ITT., V. 6906.
[6] ITT., II. 651, 702, 844.
[7] ITT., IV. 7481 a, b; 7561, etc.
[8] ITT., IV. 7054, 7112, 7100.
[9] ITT., IV. 7436; CT., IX. 20015, R. 17; ITT., IV. 7261, 7514.

service, the king had his own scribe, cantor, hairdresser, porter, milkman, cup-bearer, messengers, judge and religious officials.[1]

Perhaps as a compliment to the king, the word for ' king ' was used to describe the very best in stuffs, e.g. royal beer, royal barley meal ; and the standard reliable dry measure was the royal *gur*.

The private and public devotions of the reigning ' great-man ' are the essential matter of many of the royal inscriptions or records of the building of temples for various gods, and are indicated in the ' business ' documents. Unfortunately the precise meaning of the terms used, e.g. *a-ru-a*, *níg-giš-tag-ga*, *zur$_7$-ra*, etc., is not known. They are " offerings," on our texts usually of animals, but what differentiated one sort from another can be as yet but guesswork.

Finally, a word must be said about the current form of oath in which the parties swore by the ' life ' of the king. The formula can be illustrated by the Rylands tablets.

> Jr. 786 : The tablet though broken across the first lines seems to deal with sheep that have been siezed (*šu-gid-da*) from Akalla ; account of Adu ; in the month of *še ḳar-ra gál-la* he swore by the life of his king (*mu-lugal-bi in-pad*), to hand (them) over (sum-mu-da).
>
> Jr. 536 : Ur-Dumuzida, swore by the life of the king that he would not bring an action (*enim-nu-un-gá-gá-a mu-lugal-bi in pad*).
>
> Jr. 541 : Manšume, swore by the life of the king that he would not litigate about the silver (received by him in a transaction) (*kù-babbar nu-ub-ʔ-gi$_4$-gi$_4$-da mu-lugal-bi in-pad*).
>
> Cp. also Jr. 60.

Until recently the phrase *mu lugal* was translated by " the name of the king." But it is now established that though *mu* does mean ' name ' it also means ' life ' and so the Sumerian phrase corresponds to the Semitic *nîš šarrim* in Semitic oath formulæ. Nothing could illustrate more clearly the dignity and

[1] Cp. ITT., II. 731 ; STH., II. 73, 95 ; ITT., II. 771 ; IV. 7061 ; II. 731 ; RTC. 3500 ; ITT., IV. 8162, etc. ; II. 1010 : iii. 1.

authority of the king, except the cult of the king which will be discussed in a later article.

In such evidence as we have to date, the 'great man' is everywhere and the other members of the royal family are, by comparison, nowhere. In the old days of Lugalanda and Urukagina of Lagash, about earlier than the days of Ur III, king and queen and children figure much in the economy of the state, as became the earthly representatives of the heavenly family. But it would be as yet unfair to compare the position of the royal family at Ur with the earlier one at Lagash, chiefly because we have large quantities of evidence from Lagash, the city where the earlier reigning family lived, whereas we have hardly any evidence at all from Ur the royal residence of the Ur III kings and their families. We must await the publication of all Ur III tablets found at Ur by the joint expedition which has worked there so successfully since the war.

The queen is referred to as the "wife of the 'king,'" the "lady" and "madame." But she isn't referred to often on such records as we have. Perhaps she did not get about much. And this, if true, must not be attributed to harem enclosure, for there was no such thing in Sumer. There is abundant evidence of the 'advanced' position of women. But if absent the lady was not forgotten. She had here needs and the state had duty to supply them. Hence we occasionally read of provision for her. Two Rylands tablets [1] mention a lamb, a sheep and a sow as food-stuff for her. On other records [2] ducks and doves and sows are for her food. She had her own shepherd.[3]

It is interesting that we do not read so often of food supplies for the other members of the family. Perhaps they are included in the phrase "taken into the palace" which occurs on tablets which record provisions for the queen. But whereas she has doves, ducks and sows, there are only dead birds and dead sheep for the 'palace.'

Of the queen's piety we have little evidence. There is a record [4] of "one sheep when the lady entered the temple" in

[1] JR. 45, 170, 484.
[2] E.g. TRU. 280, 281; H.G. 8; *An. Or.* 74 : 3; cp. ITT., IV. 7100.
[3] ITT., II. 752.
[4] GDD. 378 : 14; 115 : 13.

the reign of Šulgi. And the lady of Bur Sin offered 104 fat oxen, 17 oxen, 708 sheep, 208 he-goats. Such large numbers of animals suggest large private possessions in live-stock. We have a reference to a queen's shepherd.[1]

They are described as " N son of the ' king.' " The name of the ' king ' is not usually written. It is assumed that the king referred to must be the king in whose reign the tablet is dated. But there is reason to doubt whether this assumption always leads to truth. On a Rylands tablet [2] we read of Aḫuni, the son of the king. The tablet is dated in the fifth year of Gimil Sin. But " Aḫuni, son of the king " occurs on a tablet recently published [3] which is dated in the third year of Bur Sin. It may be, of course, that both Bur Sin and Gimil Sin had a son named Aḫuni. But it seems better to say that ' son of king ' may mean " son of a king " or " royal son."

But if we assume that the date-formulæ do provide us with a certain clue to the parentage of the royal son mentioned in the body of the tablet, we may list the royal male children known to date as follows: Seven sons of Šulgi. They are Gimil-Enlil, Lu-Nannar, Na-di, Ur-Sin, Ur-Nannar, Ur-Adad, and of course the crown prince Bur Sin who succeeded. Of Bur Sin we hear of eight sons whose names are: Amir-Šulgi, Šulgirama, Gimil-išdar, Ka-Nannar, Lu-Šulgi, Lugalazida, Ur-Ninsun [4] and the crown prince Gimil-Sin.

There are other princes whose parentage cannot be with certainty identified either because the tablet is not dated, or it is dated by a formula which is used of more than one year. Thus, e.g. a Rylands tablet [5] refers to " Meišdar, son of a king." But the tablet is dated in " the year when Šašru was destroyed." But this event dates both the fortieth year of the reign of Šulgi and the sixth of the reign of Bur Sin.

The following are names of royal princes found on tablets which bear no date: Lu-Babbar, Lugal-ezen, Puzur-Ninsun, Nin-egalsi, Ur-Kadi.

Nothing of importance is recorded of these princes, not even of the crown prince. They make contributions to national cults

[1] ITT., II. 752 (Bursin I). [2] JR. 434. [3] Boson, ICS. 336.
[4] ITT., III. 5001. [5] JR. 470.

at the various shrines and appear with lesser notables. One prince, whose name we do not know, the son of 'king' Ur-Nammu, was made priest of the goddess Innana at Erech. The event provides the date formula for one of the years of Ur-Nammu's reign. A son of Bur-Sin, Ur-Nannar is recorded [1] as going from Susa supplied with royal beer and barley meal.

Daughters of kings are referred to even less often than are sons of kings. But they play an important part in inter-state politics. Two of Šulgi's daughters are married to foreign potentates. One became the lady of Marḫaši, the other, became the lady of Anšan, one of the most important districts of Elam. A daughter of Ibi-Sin, by name Tukuntiḫattimigriša, married a patesi of Zabšali which had been conquered by her grandfather Gimil Sin in the seventh year of his reign

Occasionally we hear of princesses going on a journey, one [2] from Adamdun which is somewhere in Elam, another [3] to Kimaš which is located on the Adem river, a considerable distance from Ur, the home town. Of the latter it is recorded that she had as rations $\frac{4}{5}$ of a *gur* of meal for 'en route,' and $\frac{3}{5}$ whilst in the city. But the princess who went to Adamdun was allowed beer, barley meal and sesame oil. The beer for this princess was ordinary, but the beer allowed to prince Ur-Nannar who went to Susa, was 'royal' beer!

[1] Hussey, II. 85. [2] ITT., II. 4907. [3] Hussey, II. 66.

# THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE DISCOURSE OF THE COMMONWEAL.[1]

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WILLIAM LAMBARD, the Kentish antiquary, added this note to his copy of the Discourse. "Note, that this booke was published in print under the title of a Brief Conceipte of Inglishe policie by one W. S. in the yeare 1581, whereas it was long since penned by Sir Thomas Smythe (as some say) or Mr. John Hales[2] (as others thinke) either in the reigne of H[enry] VIII or Edward the VI. And I myselfe have long had this copy of it which I caused to be written out in the yeare 1565." Before the discovery by Dr. Lamond of the Lambard text, speculation had been rife as to the identity of the mysterious W. S. who printed the tract as his own in 1581; it was now clear that a manuscript version had existed nearly twenty years earlier. After much research on the Lambard and Bodleian texts, Dr. Lamond decided that it was the work of John Hales of Coventry, a member of Protector Somerset's Commission on enclosures. This conclusion has since perforce been accepted by historians though not without considerable misgiving. In 1922, in the course of a letter to the present writer, Professor Unwin said "I didn't realise till this year how much the debasement (of the currency) of 1540-45 was responsible for enclosure. That is, of course, the central point of the Discourse. Enclosures don't cause dearth (i.e. dearness) but dearth causes enclosure. *I doubt if Hales wrote the Discourse.*

[1] The reprint of 1929 (Cambridge Univ. Press) has been used.

[2] For Hales, Corrections to D.N.B. in *Bulletin Inst. Hist. Research*, i. 63-4, and Patent Rolls, Edward VI and Philip and Mary, *passim*.

*It doesn't seem to follow the lines of his Defence before the Privy Council.*" I may add that in Unwin's opinion the tract represented the most advanced statement of economic thought in Tudor England, which may serve as some justification for reopening the question of authorship.

I have since discovered two other manuscript texts, neither of which were known to Dr. Lamond. The first, in the Marquis of Salisbury's collection at Hatfield, was almost certainly William Cecil, Elizabeth's great minister's own copy. The other is in the Yelverton collection, perhaps the most famous sixteenth-century collection remaining in private hands, assembled by Robert Beale, towards the end of the century.[1] I have collated both these texts with the Lamond edition and although the variations are nowhere very great as between them and the Bodleian text, they establish beyond question that the manuscript which Lambard caused to be copied (which was preferred by Miss Lamond) is in many respects unreliable. Both are headed "Dialogue of State," with the subtitle "A Discourse of the Commonweal of this Realm of England." Unfortunately, neither the Hatfield nor the Yelverton manuscript affords any direct evidence as to authorship. But it is surely significant that Beale, whose initials are scrawled on the cover of the Yelverton manuscript, should have bound up the tract without comment along with Sir Thomas Smith's *De Republica* and his other accredited writings. Now, Beale had good reason to know both Smith and Hales, for his first mission to the Continent had been connected with the latter's championship of the Hertford-Grey marriage and its contingent bearing on the succession to the English throne, for which Hales was committed to the Tower in 1564.[2] Beale had been commissioned to obtain the opinion of eminent foreign lawyers on the question and when the Queen pounced on its advocates in England, he decided that discretion was the better part of valour and stayed on in France where he

[1] My thanks are due to Lady Calthorpe and the Marquis of Salisbury for permission to consult the manuscripts in their possession. Also to Mr. Vacy Lyle, the librarian at Hatfield, for his help in collating the texts.

[2] *Salisbury MSS.* i. 294-6; *S.P. Foreign* (1564), §§ 388, 648; Haynes, *State Papers*, pp. 413-17.

eventually became " a sort of resident secretary " to the English embassy.[1] We know that he was on intimate terms with Sir Thomas Smith, who was sent on several missions to France in the 'sixties and early 'seventies and that the latter had a good opinion of him.[2] In all probability, the copies of Smith's writings now in the Yelverton collection, including some which his biographer Strype supposed to have been lost, were made during Smith's last embassy, for he is known to have taken his writings to France with him. Beale did not obtain any official recognition until after Smith's retirement, by which time Hales was dead and the succession controversy of the 'sixties had blown over. He could then have had little or no interest in suppressing Hales' claim to the authorship had a doubt existed in his mind about it. We can be the more sure of this because Beale has carefully added this note in the margin of another tract, the authorship of which is also in dispute, " Mr. John Hales', his hand." [3]

The objections to the Hales' authorship on grounds of internal evidence are equally serious. In manner and form it bears no resemblance to his other writings, such as his " Oration " to Henry VIII or that to Queen Elizabeth on her accession, neither of which does Dr. Lamond appear to have known.[4] Moreover, as Unwin surmised, Hales' own views as expressed in his famous defence before the Privy Council at the time of the fall of Protector Somerset and his subsequent letters from exile in Germany do not coincide but often conflict with the arguments put forward in the Discourse.[5] For example, Hales was convinced that " scarcity, famine and sickness be plagues of God " ; but the writer of the Discourse was emphatic that the present dearth " is not of God's part " (pp. lxvi., 17, 167). Again, Hales had recently opposed the introduction of Civil Law into England ; [6]

[1] D.N.B.

[2] Smith spoke of him as " a rare man . . . of excellent gifts," *S.P. Foreign* (*Addenda*) 1583, § 444.

[3] *Yelverton MSS.*, xlviii. 72.

[4] Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* (ed. Townshend), viii. 673-9.

[5] *S.P. Foreign* (1547-53), pp. 66-8, 97. Hales was deprived of his clerkship at the Hanaper in Mary's reign (*Exchequer*, E. 228, Bdle. 228, No. 2). His kinsman James Hales was deprived of his lands and drowned himself, *Patent Rolls* (1555), *passim*.

[6] *Harleian MSS.* 4990, § 1.

to the writer of the Discourse it was the touchstone to which appeal must be made (p. 49). Hales is known to have advocated increased duties on the export of cloth, a policy which is strongly deprecated in the Discourse (pp. xliv., 91). And nowhere does he give reason to suppose that he was prepared to justify enclosure, as does the learned Doctor in the dialogue. Moreover, if, as Dr. Lamond assumed, the author identified himself with the principal spokesmen in the dialogue, now with the Knight, now with the Doctor, Hales can hardly fit the case. He was neither a knight nor a learned "civilian." So far as we know he was unmarried—the Knight in the Discourse speaks of his son—and if he was the Hales "with a club foot" he would scarcely be able to bear arms. Again, the Knight positively asserts that he has heard the griefs of the Commonwealth "of long time and ofte reasoned upon as well in parliamente as in counsayles" (p. 120). But Hales was never in the Council and although he was a member for Preston in the 1548 parliament, he was disgraced a year later and was out of the country for the next decade. Enough is known of his penurious exile to suggest that he scarcely attained the philosophic calm which characterises the Discourse.

But the most serious objection to the Hales' authorship is that nowhere does he hint of specialist knowledge of currency questions (including an acquaintance with the coinage of ancient Rome). It is true that on his return to England in 1559 he advocated a reform of the currency, but this was to be expected from one who had been penalised for the best part of a decade, when he had to depend on remittances from England, by the unfavourable rate of foreign exchange which was one wholly unforeseen result of Henry VIII's debasement.[1] Finally, if Hales was indeed the author, how are we to explain his connection with W. S. who caused the tract to be printed many years after Hales' death?

Let us consider the claims of Sir Thomas Smith whom Lambard named as an alternative. As a Renaissance scholar, steeped in classical learning, a lover of Plato and an admirer of More and Erasmus, he was certainly well qualified to speak the

[1] *Tudor Economic Documents*, ii. 224.

part of the Doctor. Moreover, he was at once a Knight, a Privy Councillor, a member of Parliament—for the "city" of Marlborough, an important centre of the cloth industry, where his friend Protector Somerset is known to have had considerable estates[1]—he was, besides, trained in the Civil Law, Dean of Carlisle and Provost of Eton, so that almost alone of his contemporaries was he qualified to speak the parts of the several speakers in the Dialogue. It can scarcely be a mere coincidence that Smith should have had copies of Vegetius' *Columella* and Vitruvius' *De Architectura* in his library, both of which are referred to in the Discourse. Again, his preference for the dialogue as a literary form and his reluctance to publish any of his writings during his lifetime point to the same conclusion. Moreover, the elaborate table of contents in the *De Republica* suggests an obvious affinity with that in the Discourse. Closer study may yet reveal the use of common expressions and spellings and possibly of such archaic words as "discurre," "equipolente," "manurance."

As Secretary of State to Protector Somerset, no one knew better than Smith how much the high prices consequent upon the debasement were responsible for the "wild uproars" of 1549. We now know that as Secretary, Smith had been particularly concerned in negotiating foreign loans for the payment of troops and munitions, so that he had a unique opportunity of discovering the ruinous effects of debasement upon foreign exchange. There is some evidence, also, that towards the end of Henry VIII's reign he had occasionally acted as a bullion broker for Calais merchants.[2] In a long letter to the Protector, dated 22 June, 1549, a month before the storm of rebellion broke, he discussed in detail the financial prospects of the government. In a word, it was no longer possible for the government to live on the Mint.[3] He complained of the sharp practices of mint officials and proposed to bring some of them to a reckoning. Now the writer of the Discourse, likewise, speaks of the minters "who can never be burdened to do their duties left to their own conscience" and relates the death-bed confession of one of them

[1] *Pink MSS.* (John Rylands Library).

[2] *Letters and Papers*, Henry VIII, xix. 482.

[3] *S.P. Dom.*, vii. § 38.

named Knight. Again, it must be assumed that Smith, no less than Hales, was in sympathy with Protector Somerset's anti-enclosure policy. (Recent evidence which has come to light proves that Hales himself had profited considerably from grants of monastic land and that he was not the "chairman," as Leadam supposed, of the 1548 enclosure commission.) Several drafts for a further inquiry into the evils of enclosure which was contemplated in the summer of 1549 are in Smith's handwriting and there is his own confession that neither on his own lands nor on those of Eton or Carlisle had he ever raised rentals, or heightened fines, "nor yet to this day put out tenant nor, to my knowledge, have had any in suit."[1] This assertion finds a surprising echo in the Discourse (pp. 38-9). Again, who was more likely to know of the latest proclamation against stage plays, or of letters for the restraint of grain than a one-time Secretary who had penned such himself? Or who better able to champion the merchant in the dialogue—he is actually a mercer—than one who was intimately connected by family and marriage ties with the Mercers' company?

Smith remained faithful to the Protector to the last and for a time suffered imprisonment. He was deprived of his secretaryship and his place on the Council and had to pay a heavy fine. These things were serious for one who was not yet forty. In 1551 he was sent on a short embassy to France, and subsequently served on a commission to "rough-hew the canon law," but he was not in regular state service again until Elizabeth's accession.[2] At any time in the intervening decade, he could truly say, with the author of the Discourse, that he was "not of the King's counsaile." Having now (as he explained in the preface) "sufficient leasur from other business," what more natural than that a person of vigorous and independent mind should review the causes of the social discontent which had brought about his political downfall? (p. 10).

Unfortunately, Dr. Lamond's summary rejection of Smith's claim to the authorship was based on a complete misconception of his attitude to debasement. His biographer Strype states :—

[1] *Archæologia*, xxxviii. 120-2.

[2] Despite his Protestantism he obtained a grant of land from Queen Mary, *Patent Rolls* (1555), p. 263, in lieu of his allowance while "legate" in France.

> When base monies as testons (coined in great quantities under Henry VIII) and other pieces were near this time under consultation to be redressed, Smith was also made use of in this and wrote a letter to the Lord Protector touching the benefit arising by the Mint while such monies were coined to give the better light to this work.

Dr. Lamond wrongly assumed from this that Smith favoured a policy of debasement, though Strype expressly states in a footnote, that "according to the advice of Smith for good money to be coined these coarse teston pieces were forbidden to be coined."[1] Now, the principal argument in the Discourse is that debasement is the cause of enclosures and high prices and that the right policy is to return to a currency of standard purity. Historians are uncertain who was responsible for the policy of the Elizabethan recoinage: that is possibly because they are taking too short a view.[2] The author of the Discourse, whoever he might be, took pride in the fact that the debasement was done in Henry VIII's reign, not in Edward VI's. Above all, he saw through the mistaken motives which had first prompted the debasement (p. 69). Mr. Feaveryear has recently shown that as early as 1548 there was an attempt to return to a standard coinage.[3] Part of the credit for this, I submit, belongs to Smith. With the fall of Somerset the reform was held up until 1552. In the "*Communication concerning the Queen's marriage*," Smith subsequently wrote:—

> Many would judge that the getting and keeping of Boulogne . . . now in the time of Henry VIII and the obtaining and holding of Haddington . . . and a great part of the Lowdian of Scotland should have brought in great riches to this realm. It was that almost beggared England, for thereby our fine gold was conveyed away, our good silver appeared not, our massy and plate was melted and everyman seeth that not only our good coin was wonderfully consumed but that which was left piteously altered and made worse, the gold much debased and at the last for sterling silver we had two parts of copper and scarce the third part true metal remaining in the coin (Strype's *Life*, p. 257).

This is precisely the point of view expressed in the Discourse.

[1] Strype (1820 edition), p. 36.

[2] *Economic History Review* (April, 1936), "The Elizabethan recoinage," by Conyers Read. Cunningham, however, gives the credit to Smith, *Growth of English Industry* (5th ed.), footnote to § 178.

[3] Feaveryear, *The Pound Sterling*, p. 55; *Calendar Patent Rolls, Edward VI, passim.*

On other grounds, Smith has stronger claims than Hales. His first-hand knowledge of the half-empty colleges and of the University curriculum derived from his having been a fellow and a "visitor" at Cambridge (pp. 22, 26-32). The knowledge of church abuses, of the exactions of diocesan chancellors, and of the latest trentalle on clerical residence was fitting in one who had served on a commission to revise canon law while the note of self-criticism became a pluralist and absentee dean (pp. 131-43). Similarly, who but an ex-ambassador could speak of the reasons why France maintained a standing army which "the stomacks of Englishmen would never bear" and add the remarkable prophecy that these "men of arms may be the destruction of their kingdom at length" (p. 94-5). His classification of artificers, his attitude to the contemporary craze for building and to the luxury trades point to an obvious identification.[1]

Finally, there is the connection between Smith and the W. S. of 1581. Curiously enough, even those authorities who still cling to the Hales' authorship suggest that W. S. is probably William Smith, nephew and heir of Elizabeth's Secretary of State.[2] How William Smith came to be possessed of a Hales' MSS. is not explained; nor is it easily explainable. Clearly, however, the manuscript had undergone considerable revision in an attempt to bring it up to date before publication and there is a notable addition, probably derived from Jean Bodin, the French philosopher, which attributes the prevailing high prices, notwithstanding the Elizabethan recoinage, to the influx of American bullion (p. xxxiii.). Now, it is known that in the last years of his life Smith was engaged on revising his earlier writings.[3] He wrote to Cecil and Leicester asking for their assistance in tracking down his table of the wages of Roman soldiers which he remembered to have lent to one of them many years before and which Strype wrongly supposed to have been lost. (There is a copy in the Yelverton collection.) Sir Thomas Smith died in 1577. We know that his nephew William—the son had been killed in Ireland—was at Dublin in the autumn of 1580, where

[1] Compare "Considerations for the Parliament" (1559), *Salisbury MSS.* i. 162-5, drawn up by a commission of which Smith was a member.

[2] *Tudor Economic Documents*, iii. 305.

[3] Strype, *loc. cit.*

he hoped to make good the grant made to his uncle of the district known as the Ards. But the Queen had decided to call a halt in the policy of Irish plantation and the young man was, with some difficulty, brought to heel.[1] In the dedication of the Discourse to Her Majesty he speaks of his "late undutiful misdemeanour" and of the Queen's "singular clemency" in pardoning the same (p. 145). If, as I surmise, the young man returned to England early in 1581 and found the tract among his uncle's papers already revised and brought up to date, the temptation to publish it would be strong. Publication of the incomplete *De Republica* was delayed until 1583. Perhaps the Queen or the Lord Treasurer had decided that W. S. was doing a greater service in publishing his uncle's work than in harrying the Irish.

[1] *Discourse*, pp. lxvii.-lxix; Collins, *Memorials of State*, i. 69, 76; *Wilts Archeological Mag.*, xviii. 25.

# THE ANNIVERSARY SERVICE FOR BLANCHE, DUCHESS OF LANCASTER, 12TH SEPTEMBER, 1374.[1]

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ONE of the most familiar methods of commemorating the dead in the Middle Ages was the institution of a series of services held yearly on the anniversary of the death, attended by the friends and relatives of the departed, and usually accompanied, it seems,[2] by some form of ceremonial procession, the distribution of alms to the poor and the giving of hospitality.

An interesting fourteenth-century example of this custom, exceptional, to some extent, both in the exalted position and romantic circumstances of the persons concerned, and in our detailed knowledge of the proceedings, is to be found in an account, recorded in the Duchy of Lancaster archives,[3] and translated below, of the expenses for one of the annual commemoration services held by John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, in memory of his first wife, Blanche, who died of plague on the 12th of September, 1369.[4]

The series of anniversary services (continuing, apparently, from 1370 to the duke's own death in 1399), of which this formed a part, was only one of the many ways in which he showed his abiding affection for the companion of his early manhood: for though his marriage, in 1359, to his young cousin, Blanche of

[1] I am indebted to the Trustees of the late Lord Leverhulme for a Research Grant which facilitated the collection of the MS. material used in this article.

[2] See e.g. A. Molinier, *Les Obituaires français au Moyen Age*, pp. 118-126.

[3] Public Record Office, *Duchy of Lancaster, Miscellaneous Books*, no. 13, f. 217 r.; printed by the Royal Historical Society, *John of Gaunt's Register*, vol. II, Camden Third Series, vol. XXI, no. 1585.

[4] S. Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt*, pp. 75 and 77.

Lancaster, was an eminently profitable alliance, since it made him the greatest private landowner in England and prepared the way for his ducal title, we can see in Chaucer's Book of the Duchess (if, indeed, the portrait is faithful to the original), that it was also the spontaneous impulse of a genuine emotion. And, as the duke's biographer points out,[1] Chaucer's eloquent expression of the duke's sorrow for the loss of his 28-year-old wife is corroborated by the lavish and unfailing devotion with which, up to the time of his own death, he kept her in remembrance.

Whether he was equally solicitous for the memory of his second wife, the Spanish Constance of Castile, we cannot be sure. His care to have her funeral rites carried out in a manner fitting his high position is sufficiently evidenced by the expenditure of a sum of nearly £600 on black cloth and other necessaries for the event in 1394.[2] And in his will, some four years later, he endowed a chantry in St. Mary's Church at Leicester, where she was buried, for two priests to say perpetual masses for her and for himself and an annual obit for her on the anniversary of her death.[3] But whether he established other memorials to her during his life-time we do not know. Chaucer has nothing to say of the duchess Constance, and the duchy records for these years are too fragmentary to tell us.

But the fact that at the end of his life the duke chose that his body should be laid to rest beside the duchess Blanche in the tomb that he had erected for her,[4] seems to show that she had always held first place in his affections and the more complete records of the duke's earlier years give us ample evidence of the variety of ways in which he kept her memory in honour. In St. Paul's Cathedral, where she was buried, one of the leading architects of the day [5] was engage to erect a costly tomb adorned

[1] S. Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt*, pp. 76-78.

[2] *Duchy of Lancaster, Accounts*, 32/21, printed (with some abbreviations) by Armitage-Smith, *op. cit.*,p. 449.

[3] Printed *ibid.*, p. 429. Shortly before his death the duke also founded a chantry of two priests in Lincoln Cathedral to say masses for himself and his third wife, Katherine (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1396-1399, p. 412).

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 420.

[5] The London mason-architect, Henry Yevele, a man much in demand among the members of the royal family and the nobility both for large building

with an alabaster figure in her image.[1] Two chaplains were appointed to sing masses for her soul all the year round in the same church, at a special altar constructed for their use, furnished at the duke's expense and supplied with a rich missal and chalice.[2] Finally, there were the commemoration services celebrated, apparently, every year on the anniversary of her death,[3] which form the subject of our accounts.

Of the regular celebration of these services there is a fairly full, though not an unbroken series, of records, for the years covered by the volumes of the duke's Register and the Receiver-General's accounts, in which the expenses for the various occasions are entered. Generally these entries consist merely of a brief note of the total sum; in the earlier years a fairly substantial amount—£38 18s. 0d. in 1371,[4] £37 9s. 8¾d. in 1372,[5] £45 4s. 10½d. in 1374,[6]—sinking gradually in the later years to £27 14s. 8d. in 1377,[7] £19 19s. 6d. in 1380,[8] and £10 in 1392 and 1394.[9] But in the case of the service of 1374 the clerk who drew up the register has added a copy of the detailed items of expenditure, classified in topical groups, thereby giving

contracts and for ecclesiastical monuments of this sort. See "Henry Yevele and his Associates," by D. Knoop and G. P. Jones, *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, vol. 42, series 3, no. 14.

[1] *John of Gaunt's Register* (henceforward cited as *Register*), II, nos. 1394 and 1659. The total cost of the tomb was £486.

[2] *Ibid.*, no. 918. The chaplains were paid £10 a year each, which seems to have been a fairly high figure for chaplains celebrating masses. Miss Wood-Legh (*Church Life under Edward III*, p. 120) estimates that five or six marks was the amount most commonly granted for a chantry priest, though in 1378 the legal maximum was raised from five to seven marks, and after the Black Death stipends of eight, nine or ten marks occur not infrequently. (*Ibid.*, pp. 121 and 122.)

In his will the duke endowed obits for himself and the duchess Blanche on the anniversary of their deaths as well as a chantry for two priests to say masses for their souls for ever. Armitage-Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 423.

[3] The services were presumably held on the 12th of September, since they are normally described as anniversaries: but the actual date is only stated once, *viz.*, in the case of the service of 1380 (*Duchy of Lancaster, Miscellaneous Books*, 14 f. 39 v.).

[4] *Register*, II, no. 943. [5] *Ibid.*, no. 1122. [6] *Ibid.*, no. 1585.

[7] *Duchy of Lancaster, Accounts*, 3/1, m. 7.

[8] *Duchy of Lancaster, Miscellaneous Books*, 14 f. 39 v. no. 5.

[9] *Duchy of Lancaster, Accounts*, 3/2 f. 17 r. and 32/21 (printed in Armitage-Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 449).

us a fairly detailed idea of the nature of the proceedings as well as of the provisions of various sorts required for it. How far the year 1374 was typical of the others we cannot be sure. Towards the end of the series, when the total cost sinks to £10, there must have been considerable simplification of the ceremonial, but in the earlier years when the cost remains fairly consistently about £40 we may perhaps assume that the proceedings were much the same on successive occasions : and since anniversary celebrations were so familiar a feature of medieval life, the details are, perhaps, worth describing in full.

The main service was a solemn high mass in St. Paul's Cathedral, conducted by one of the major canons and attended by a substantial proportion of the Cathedral staff, seven other major canons assisting the celebrant, supported by the whole body of the twelve minor canons and a considerable number of chaplains and vicars. A few choristers as well as bell-ringers and other servants of the church also took part in the service.[1] In honour of the celebration the church seems to have been draped with black cloths brought from the duke's town house, the Savoy : [2] the forty wax candles of various shapes and sizes which burnt on or round the duchess's tomb during mass all the year round were taken down and remade,[3] and eight new and specially-made wax mortar-lights were placed on the tomb to supplement them for the occasion.[4] Finally, during the service

[1] The full staff included 30 major canons, each having a deputy or vicar, and the 12 minor canons, who were incorporated as a separate college by Richard II in 1395-1396 (*Vict. County Hist. of London*, I, 421-427). How many chaplains were attached to the cathedral at the moment as chantry priests, etc., it is difficult to say, but Dugdale (*Hist. of St. Paul's*, pp. 27-40) gives a list of nearly 60 endowments established by 1374 for chantry priests and chaplains to say masses in St. Paul's, but bishop Braybrook found that many of the endowments were so small that the duties couldn't be maintained (*ibid.* p. 40), and in 1391 he reduced the number by 32 by amalgamating a number of chantries (*Vict. County Hist., loc. cit.* p. 427 : by 44 according to Dugdale) so that possibly there were not many more than this number of chaplains actually officiating in 1374 ; in which case the majority of them were present at the anniversary, 31 chaplains and 10 vicars receiving payment in addition to the canons mentioned in the text. (Item 37 of the account.)

[2] Item 24. According to Dugdale (*op. cit.*, p. 25), it was usual to drape the church and choir with black for the funeral of distinguished Englishmen and foreigners.

[3] Items 26-30. [4] Item 31.

itself, twenty-four poor men, dressed in gowns and hoods of the Lancastrian livery colours of white and blue, stood round the tomb holding burning torches.[1]

Whether this service was mainly a private one or whether it was attended by any considerable number of the general public the accounts do not tell us. The writer of the Anonimalle Chronicle describes an occasion in November, 1381, when the duke attended St. Paul's Cathedral " od graunt route des gentz pour oier messe et offrer pour la duches iadys sa femme ; et le mair et les aldermen, od graunde noumbre de la citee bien mountez, luy encontrerent et luy amenerent al dit esglise pour fair lour devocione en honour de la dite dame." [2] But this was the occasion of a special patching up of quarrels between the citizens and the duke,[3] and we cannot say if the regular September anniversary received such marked recognition from them. But the fact that bell-ringers were employed suggests that the service was, at any rate, open to the public.

The high mass, however, though the principal part of the celebrations, was not the only service, nor even the only form of observance celebrated. In addition, there were supplementary masses said by the five orders of friars in London, each order receiving (apparently) £1 for its services : [4] there was a general

[1] Items 21(*a*) and (*b*). Or possibly the gowns and hoods were black. (See below, p. 16, n. 2.) According to *The Ordering of a Funerall for a Noble Person in Hen. 7 Time* (*A Booke of Precedence*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, Early English Text Society, Extra Series no. 8, p. 30) the torch bearers at a funeral should be in black, but we cannot assume that the writer's precept was necessarily followed in practice, either in his own day or in the fourteenth century.

[2] The *Anonimalle Chronicle*, ed. V. H. Galbraith, p. 156. I am indebted to Mr. Galbraith for calling my attention to this passage.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Item 36. Apart from the four major orders of friars who all had convents in London (Dugdale, *Monasticon* (1846), vol. viii. pp. 1487, 1514, 1572 and 1594), the only order of Friars in London, in 1374, was apparently that of the Crutched Friars, whose house in Hart St., near Tower Hill, was founded in 1298, and survived till Henry VIII's reign (*ibid.*, p. 1586). In the thirteenth century the Friars of the Sack also had a house in London situated in Lothbury, but after the suppression of the minor orders by the Second General Council of Lyons it fell into decay, and the last reference to it given by Dugdale is a note of the surrender of the chapel of the convent to Robert fitz Walter in 1305 (*ibid.*, p. 1607). It is somewhat interesting to note that Richard de Gravesend, bishop of London, in his will dated 1302, left legacies to the four major orders in the city and to the

distribution of alms to the prisoners and poor of the city amounting, together with the offerings made during the high mass, to a sum of £10 : [1] and there was hospitality at the duke's expense —a collation of wine and sweetmeats served, according to custom, to the magnates and the chapter of St. Paul's after the vespers for the dead on the eve of the anniversary,[2] and a plainer and more substantial supper served, apparently, at the Savoy either on the eve or the day of the anniversary after mass.[3]

Whether this supper at the Savoy was a select gathering of the duke's household with a few invited guests, or whether it was attended by a wider circle is, as in the case of the high mass, uncertain : the quantities of food (60 gallons of ale, apparently, and 11½ of wine, 6 sheep, 1/3 of a carcase of beef, 3 young pigs, with a moderate quantity of geese, pigeons and pullets) [4] suggest a moderate-sized attendance, though judging from the comparative plainness of the fare it was not an elaborate feast, and we cannot be sure that it was much more than a household assembly. There is, however, definite mention of two guests (lord Poynings and his wife), who attended the anniversary at the duke's expense.[5]

Friars of the Sack but not to the Crutched Friars (*Account of the Executors of Richard, bishop of London, and Thomas, bishop of Exeter*, Camden Society, 1874, pp. 113 and 114). But the Crutched Friars were only new-comers to the city then.

[1] Item. 35. [2] § 2 of the account.

[3] § 1 of the account. The Savoy is mentioned in item 3, and presumably the meal was in the evening, since candles form one item (no. 15) in the expenses.

Some of these supplementary observances were, perhaps, the ones abandoned in the later years when the total expenses were so much reduced. But at any rate, the alms-giving does not seem to have been entirely dropped as the entries of expenses in 1380 and 1392 specifically mention " alms " and " distribution to the poor " as items in the total expenses (*Duchy of Lancaster, Miscellaneous Books*, 14 f. 39 v., and *Accounts*, 3/2 f. 17 r.).

[4] The total cost of the supper (£3 10s. 7½d.) for example, is very modest compared with the cost of the funeral feast of bishop Gravesend in 1303 where the poultry alone cost nearly £14 (*Executors' Accounts* (see above, p. 7 n. 1), p. 100). Dr. Coulton (*Five Centuries of Religion*, vol. III, p. 486), estimates that at the installation feast of Ralph de Borne at Canterbury in 1309 each guest had 1¾ lbs. of bread, 1/200 of an ox, 1/60 of a hog, 1/30 of a sheep, 1/6 of a goose, 5½ pints of ale and about 3½ pints of wine, as well as oddments of poultry, etc. On a roughly equivalent basis we could perhaps allow for some 60 or 70 people at the anniversary supper at the Savoy.

[5] Item 34.

One other feature of interest in the celebration of 1374 is that it was probably the first of the anniversary services at which the duke was able to be present in person. In September, 1370, and 1371, he was campaigning in Gascony, in September, 1372, he was at sea with the king on the Thouars exhibition, and in September, 1373, he was crossing France on his disastrous march from Calais to Bordeaux, so that it was not till 1374 that he was in England for September, between his return from Gascony in April, 1374, and his departure for the negotiations at Bruges in the following Spring.[1]

How far these arrangements were identical with the conventional observances for such occasions it might be a little difficult to say. They seem, however, to be in accordance with the general features of anniversary celebrations described by M. Molinier,[2] and certainly show a number of points of similarity with the anniversaries of some other members of the English royal family in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Most of these were on a more lavish scale, and were maintained out of permanent landed endowments. The anniversaries of Edward I's queen, Eleanor of Castile, and of Richard II's first wife, Anne of Bohemia (both conducted by the monks of Westminster), were maintained from groups of manors assigned to the abbey for the purpose : the anniversary of Henry V, in the same way, was financed first by a fixed annuity of £100 and later by the assignment of lands : all of the foundations having permanent officials to administer the funds.[3] So that with these considerable endowments (producing in the case of queen Eleanor's manors anything from £200 to £300 per annum, and in queen Anne's from £125 to £200) to draw on, the wardens were able, after discharging all necessary expenses, to make a distribution of a

[1] Armitage-Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-93, 98, 104-118. Perhaps this circumstance explains both why the expenses for this occasion were the highest on record and why they are the only ones which we have recorded in full.

[2] See above p. 176 n. 2.

[3] The details of these royal anniversaries are taken from E. H. Pearce, *The Monks of Westminster*, pp. 15-20.

I am indebted to Mr. C. R. Cheney, Bishop Fraser Lecturer in Ecclesiastical History in the University of Manchester, for calling my attention to this source of information, and for other helpful suggestions.

mark or a pound, sometimes £2 or more, to each priest monk of the abbey, as against the much smaller " regarda ", (e.g. 4/4 to a canon and 1/- to a chaplain), given to the chaplains and canons of St. Paul's who took part in duchess Blanche's anniversary. But the expenses themselves show much the same features. There were, of course, payments to bell-ringers, vergers and other abbey servants ; considerable sums (sometimes £20 or £30 a year) were spent on buying wax and having it made up into candles (there were thirty square candles burning round queen Eleanor's tomb) ; [1] and about equal amounts were given in alms to the poor. (In 1395-1396, for example, £30 odd were given in doles from queen Anne's fund during the year, apart from a distribution on the day, and Henry V's fund was charged with £20 a year for the poor.) In the accounts for queen Anne's fund, again, there is an item for refreshments for the magnates who attended the service,[2] and among the expenses of Henry V's anniversary is a payment of ten pence to each of twenty-four poor men bearing torches. So that, on the whole, the conduct of the duchess's anniversary seems to have been in conformity with the normal practice of the time.

The detailed roll of accounts, a translation of which follows (prefaced, in the original, by a copy of the writ authorising the clerk of the Great Wardrobe to pay out money for the expenses of the anniversary) is divided into four sections covering respectively (1) the supper at the Savoy, (2) the refreshments at St. Paul's, (3) the preparation of the church, (4) alms and payments to the clergy, and it is of some interest to note that of the total of approximately £45, nearly equal amounts were spent on (1) fees to the clergy (£10), (2) alms to the poor (£10), (3) robes and food (£11), and (4) candle wax (£8), the remaining £6 being accounted for by wax used for the masses during the preceding year.

[1] Pearce, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

[2] In 1395-1396 £2 9s. 10d. was spent on this item (compared with £1 15s. 3d. in the case of the duchess Blanche's anniversary in 1374) the Chancellor, the duchess of Gloucester, and other knights and ladies attending. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

## ROLL OF EXPENSES FOR THE ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION FOR THE DUCHESS BLANCHE, SEPTEMBER, 1374.[1]

### § 1. The Anniversary Supper at the Savoy.

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. In bread consumed at the said anniversary by order of Sir William Croyser, steward of my lord's household . . . | | 4 | 1 |
| 2. In ale . . . . . | | 7 | 6 |
| 3. In 11½ gallons of wine (xi lagenis vini cum j potello)[3] at 8d. consumed at the Savoy . . . . . | | 7 | 8 |

[1] *Register*, II, no. 1585. In the original record, the separate items and the sectional totals are "run on" continuously, and the amounts expressed indiscriminately, sometimes in pounds, shillings and pence, sometimes in lump sums of pence or shillings. In the translation the items have been tabulated and numbered, the amounts expressed uniformly in pounds, shillings and pence, and titles have been given to the different sections. An attempt has also been made to compare the prices paid with the general prices current at the time.

For advice in dealing with these prices I am indebted to my colleague, Mr. G. P. Jones, Lecturer in Economic History in the University of Sheffield, and for help in interpreting the terms dealing with confectionary and clothing to Professor Paul Barbier, Professor of French Language and Literature in the University of Leeds.

For permission to print this translation I am indebted to the Council of the Royal Historical Society.

[2] The prices in this section are rather interesting, some corresponding fairly closely with the average prices given by Thorold Rogers in his *History of Agriculture and Prices*, while others differ considerably. The main difference is noticeable in the three items of poultry, the prices for which are two or three times the average, geese being quoted in 1374 at 4d. instead of 9d. each as in the account (item 6), pullets at 1d. instead of 3d. each (item 9), and pigeons (in 1375) at 4d. instead of 1s. 2d. per dozen (item 8) (Rogers, *op. cit.*, I, 360). On the other hand, the prices for the wine and the pork are very close to, and a trifle less than, the average, the current price of wine being 8½d. the gallon in 1373 and 8d. in 1376 (*ibid.*, p. 639) as in the account (item 3) and of "porcelli" being 9d. each in 1372 (Rogers, I, 348) as against 8½d. each in the account (item 7).

Perhaps, therefore, we should be justified in taking the prices of the ale and of the other items of butcher's meat as conforming to the average: and in this case the prices would imply some 60 gallons of ale (item 2) at 1½d. a gallon (Rogers, I, 623 and II, 644), about 1/3 of a carcase of beef (item 4 and Rogers, I, 348), and 6 sheep (item 5) at 1s. 11d. each (Rogers, I, 355).

How much bread is implied by the payment of 4s. 1d. (item 1) it is difficult to estimate, since no indication is given of the sort of grain from which it was made. It can hardly have been a very considerable quantity, however, since unground wheat averaged 6s. a quarter and rye about half the price in that year (Rogers, II, 150).

[3] Two pottles to the "lagena" or gallon seems to be the normal reckoning. See Baxter and Johnson, *Medieval Latin Word List*, s.v. "lagena" and "potellus" and *Select Tracts and Table Books Relating to English Weights and Measures, Camden Miscellany*, vol. XV, p. 29.

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 4. In beef | | 4 | 6 |
| 5. In mutton | | 11 | 4 |
| 6. Also in 11 geese at 9d. | | 8 | 3 |
| 7. In 3 young pigs (porcellis) | | 2 | 1½ |
| 8. In 60 young pigeons (columbellis) | | 6 | 0 |
| 9. In 38 pullets | | 8 | 8 |
| 10. In carting the above provisions [1] | | | 10½ |
| 11. In various salted fish (salsiamentis), oaten flour and salt | | 1 | 1½ |
| 12. In powdered ginger and pepper with saffron (pulvere de gingeur et piperis cum croco) [2] | | 1 | 0 |
| 13. In various fruits [3] | | 2 | 2 |
| 14. In fuel (focalibus) [4] | | 2 | 4 |
| 15. In tallow candles (candelis) [5] | | 0 | 8 |
| 16. And in payment (regardo) to William the waferer for making wafers [6] | | 3 | 4 |
| Total | 3 | 10 | 7½[7] |

[1] What conclusion can be drawn from the item of 10½d. for carting it is also a little difficult to say. In item 24 (below) we find that it cost 3d. to take two dozen gowns and some other pieces of cloth from the Savoy to St. Paul's and back, and in 1390 we find the monks of Westminster paying 7d. to have 250 lbs. of wax brought from the city to the Abbey (Pearce, *op. cit.*, p. 17), so that at this rate it would appear that the provisions were bought in London itself or near-by —a fact which would account, perhaps, for the high prices of the poultry.

[2] The shilling represents perhaps half to three-quarters of a pound of these mixed spices, pepper being 1s. 4d. per lb. in 1373 (Rogers, I, 639), and ginger an average of 1s. 6½d. per lb. in the second half of the century (*ibid.*, p. 629), though saffron was much more expensive, the decennial average for the thirteen seventies being 15s. 8d. per lb. (*ibid.*, p. 641).

[3] Rogers quotes no prices for English-grown fruit in the later fourteenth century, though in the first half of the century the decennial averages for apples ranged from 1s. 4½d. to 4¾d. a quarter (*ibid.*, p. 454). Various sorts of foreign fruit are quoted, raisins and currants at 2¾d. per lb., figs at 1¾d., and dates at 3d. per lb. (*ibid.*, p. 632).

[4] If the fuel was (wholly or partly) for the cooking (as, in mid-September may well have been the case) it would, perhaps, have been wood at the current rate (in 1374) of 3s. per hundred fagots (*ibid.*, p. 449). But if it was charcoal (the usual form of fuel for heating rooms) to warm the hall during the meal 2s. 4d. would supply about three quarters of a hundredweight at the decennial average price of 10d. a quarter (*ibid.*, pp. 399, 421 and 454).

[5] The candles for domestic illumination were normally, apparently, of tallow (*ibid.*, pp. 414 and 415), as distinct from the candles for ceremonial use in church which seem always to have been of the much more expensive wax (*Durham Account Rolls*, III (Surtees Society, vol. 103), p. xi.). At the current price 8d. would have supplied four dozen tallow candles (Rogers, I, 442).

[6] The *New English Dictionary* gives two alternative meanings for "wafer" (*a*) "a thin crisp cake, baked between wafer-irons; formerly often eaten with

[*Continuation and note 7 on next page.*

§ 2. The Refreshments at St. Paul's.

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 17. Also in 2 lbs. of ginger comfits (gingeur confecto) [1] | | | |
| 2 lbs. of aniseed comfits | | | |
| 2 lbs. of gobbet-royal [2] | | | |
| 2 lbs. of cloves (gariofil) | | | |
| 2 lbs. of sugar-plate [3] (zucre en plate) | | | |
| 2 lbs. of large dragées [4] (gross' drag') at 1/6. | | | |
| and 1 lb. of flower of cinnamon [5] comfits (flour de canell confecto) | | | |
| and 1 lb. of clove comfits at 2s. bought and consumed by the magnates and by the chapter of St. Paul's, London, on the eve of the anniversary, according to custom, after the vespers for the dead . . . . . | 1 | 2 | 0[6] |

wine" ; (*b*) "the thin disk of unleavened bread used at the Eucharist." But since this item is included with the other supplies for the supper it is presumably the former type which is meant.

The wafers, apparently, might be of different shapes: Professor Barbier, quotes, *e.g.*, an entry in the *Inv. de J. de Saffres* (1365), p. 345, where some of them are specifically described as being round: "Quedam ferra pro gauletis faciendis et alia ferra rotunda pro gaufris faciendis."

Ducange defines "regardum" as "merces, remuneratio, compensatio" and the *Medieval Latin Word List* gives "rewardum" as "reward, payment"; but the word seems to have implied a voluntary gratuity or additional bounty even when the amount was fixed by agreement or standardised by custom. (See Glossaries in *The Priory of Finchale*, Surtees Society, vol. 6, and *Durham Account Rolls*, III (as above).)

It is difficult, however, to see why the "regard" for making wafers should have been so high as 3s. 4d., the equivalent, *e.g.*, of a week's wage for a carpenter or mason at the period (Rogers, I, 322).

[7] So in the original, but should be £3 11s. 7½d.

[1] *I.e.*, in the older sense of the word "a sweetmeat made of some fruit, root, etc., preserved with sugar" (*New Eng. Dict.*).

[2] Gobbet-royal is defined in the Glossary of the *Durham Account Rolls* as a sweetmeat "made of sugar coloured with turnsole and flavoured with ginger and mace, and cut up into little 'gobbets'."

[3] Sugre-plate, or sugar-in-plate is defined in the same glossary as "sugar carefully melted over the fire and then poured out on a marble stone dusted with rice flour; it may be flavoured by adding rose, violet, gillyflower or other flower leaves."

[4] The dragy or dredge is defined in the *New English Dictionary* as "a sweetmeat; a comfit containing a seed or grain of spice; a preparation made of a mixture of spices." Professor Barbier writes "The dragees would more normally be sweets in which a sugar-paste enclosed an almond, a walnut or some other thing of the kind."

[5] *I.e.*, finest quality cinnamon.

[6] The sweetmeats seem to work out at an average price of 1s. 6d. a pound. We are told that the dragees were this price, and the clove comfits 2s. Rogers'

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 18. In 17 gallons of wine at 8d. consumed at the same time . . | | 11 | 4 |
| 19. In 2 earthenware jars (ollis luteis) bought for the said wine . | | 0 | 8 |
| 20. In 25 cups (ciphis) [1] purchased . . . . . | | 1 | 3 |
| Total . . . . . | 1 | 15 | 3 |

§ 3. Preparations for the Service at St. Paul's.

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 21. (*a*) Also in 5 twelve-yard pieces of blanket and bluet (v duodenis albi et blueti) bought and made up in my lord's wardrobe . | | | |
| 21. (*b*) In 24 gowns (golions) [2] with as many hoods given to 24 poor men bearing 24 burning torches in their hands round the tomb of the said Blanche during the anniversary service [3] . . | 6 | 0 | 0 |

average price for ginger in the second half of the century (*op. cit.*, I, 629) is 1s. 6½d. per lb., and for cinnamon in 1376 and 1377, 2s. per lb. (*ibid.*, p. 628). The average price for cloves is as high as 8s. 3¼d. per lb. (*ibid.*), but it is found at 3s. 4d. in 1399, and is even sold as low as 1s. 2d. in London. The price of sugar also fluctuates considerably. In the latter half of the fourteenth century Rogers describes it as generally dearer than 4s. per lb., but at an earlier period the average is only 1s. 4¼d. per lb. (*ibid.* pp. 633 and 634).

[1] Misprinted " cipliis " in the printed text. Ducange gives " tasse " and " gobelet " as the French equivalents of " ciphus " ; and judging from the extremely low price these must have been cups of cheap material and perhaps small in size. In the *Household Roll of Bishop Swinfield* (1289-1290), vol. I, Camden Society, 1853, ed. J. Webb, two dozen " ciphorum et cooperatorum " are entered as costing 14d. (p. 24), and again one dozen " chiphorum " costing 10d. (p. 33), the editor describing them (p. 24 note *a*) as " Crockery ware, cups and covers for broth and gruel." In the Executors' Accounts in 1302 (quoted above, p. 5, n. 5), plain bowls or cups of maple wood (ciphi de mazero) are valued at as much as 2s. each (p. 119).

In the anniversary account for 1380 there is mention of a " box with silver vessels " (une coffre oue vessellment dargent), taken from St. Paul's to the Savoy. There were, presumably, table-ware for the refreshments, unless they were some of the duke's private altar-furniture lent for the celebration of the mass (*Duchy of Lancaster, Miscellaneous Books*, 14 f. 39 v.).

[2] Misprinted " gobions " in the printed text. The *New English Dictionary* defines " golion " as " a kind of gown or tunic," and quotes from *The Parlement of the Three Ages*, " a golyone of gray, girde in the middes."

[3] This and the previous entry are not easy to interpret with certainty, the main difficulties being (*a*) the translation of the rather obscure phrase " v duodenis albi et blueti " (literally " five dozen of white and of bluet ") ; and (*b*) the question of whether the two entries are separate items or parts of the same item. On the one hand, the second entry begins, in the original, like other individual items, with a capital letter, and it may be that the " v duodeni " are five dozen of some sort of white and blue badge or cognizance distributed to those who attended the service—white and blue being the colours of the Lancastrian livery (C. Boutell, *English Heraldry*, ed. 1902, p. 136). And in support of this interpretation it

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 22. In making up the said garments by hired workmen at 2d. each garment [1] . . . . . | 4 | 0 | |

might be argued that the reference in item 24 to " dictorum garmamentorum et alii nigri panni " implies that the gowns as well as the " other cloths " were black.

On the other hand the phrase " alii nigri panni " does not necessarily mean more than that the " other cloths " themselves were black and the absence of any separate entry of cost for entry 21*a* suggests that it and entry 21*b* really form one item. In this case the " duodeni albi et blueti " can perhaps be interpreted as five twelve-yard pieces (*i.e.* half the normal cloth of twenty-four yards (Rogers I. 575) of blanket and bluet, made up in the duke's wardrobe into twenty-four gowns and hoods by the hired tailors whose wages are given in item 22. And in support of this interpretation it may be suggested that if entry 21*b* really were a separate item the clerk would hardly have given £6 as the price of the gowns and hoods, when that is clearly (from item 22) not the price of the completed articles but only of the raw material.

At any rate, this interpretation fits in both with the quantities of cloth necessary for the given number of garments and with their probable cost. According to one instance cited by Rogers (*op. cit.*, I, 578 and 579) the amount of cloth required for a robe varied from 8 yards for a member of the upper class to 1½ yards for a yeoman groom (garcio), so that if we take five 12 yard cloths as going to make 24 gowns and hoods, the resulting allotment of 2½ yards for each gown and hood would be a not unreasonable allowance.

The appropriateness of the cost is more difficult to determine because (*a*) we cannot be sure that " albi " implies the particular woollen cloth known as " blanket " ; (*b*) we do not know the proportion of each cloth in the total ; and (*c*) the price of bluet, at any rate, is a rather uncertain quantity. With regard to (*a*), blanket is usually known as " blanchetum," but at the same time, blanket and bluet were two of the most common types of woollen cloth worn during the Middle Ages (blanket being undyed cloth, and bluet cloth of a blueish dye (Rogers, I, 575)), and it seems most probable that the white cloth used in making the garments would be of the same woollen fabric as the blue. And in this case the cost would agree fairly well with current prices. In the sixties and eighties of the fourteenth century blanket remains fairly steadily between 1s. and 1s. 6d. a yard, being quoted at 1s. 6d. in 1380 (Rogers, II, pp. 540-542). Bluet has an average price of 1s. 7½d. per yard before the Plague (*ibid.*, I, 576), but at times is quoted at nearly 5s. a yard (*ibid.*), and in 1380 is quoted at 4s. The average price of 2s. per yard represented by a cost of £6 for the five pieces would therefore be not inconsistent with current prices.

Incidentally, it may be noted that though the gowns are described as being given (datis) to the poor men, they were evidently only distributed for the occasion, being returned to the Savoy afterwards along with the " alii nigri panni " (item 24).

[1] The rate of 2d. for making up each gown and hood seems to be a rather low one. Rogers (I, 585 and 586) quotes cases of one tailor being paid 1s. for making up a robe and of another being paid 2s. 10d. for making up a robe with five garnishings and for turning up the sleeves. And again we find that Nicholas Litlington (abbot of Westminster from 1362 to 1386) could get three pairs of

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 23. Also in 1 lb. of thread bought for these garments [1] . . | | 1 | 4 |
| 24. In carting these garments and other cloths of black (alii nigri panni) from the Savoy to the said church and back . . | | 0 | 3 |
| 25. And in 24 new torches (torticis) bought from Roger Chandler to burn round the tomb of the said Blanche in the hands of the said 24 poor men during the said service, weighing, in all, 303 lbs. at 6d. . . . . | 8 | 9 | 6[2] |
| 26. And he paid to the same Roger for taking down 36 old square wax-candles (cereis) standing and burning round the said tomb throughout the year during mass and re-making them ready for the anniversary, weighing in all 275 lbs. of wax, at 1d. per lb. for the making . . . . . | 1 | 4 | 11[3] |
| 27. And to the same for 82 lbs. of wax used in the said 36 square candles, in addition to what he received from the old candles, at 6d. per lb. . . . . | 2 | 0 | 6 |
| 28. And to the same Roger for making up 40 lbs. of wax into two round candles burning on the said tomb throughout the year during mass at 1d. per lb. . . . . | | 3 | 4 |
| 29. And for 22 lbs. of wax consumed (vastate) by the said round candles during the past year . . . . . | | 11 | 0 |

" femoralia " cut out and made up for 2d. a pair (Pearce, *op. cit.*, p. 13). But no doubt the " poor men's " gowns were of a simple cut as well as being (apparently) rather short in length, and the duke supplied the tailors with thread (item 23).

[1] Rogers appears to quote no prices for thread except hemp thread or pack thread at 1d. or 2d. per lb. (I, 581, and II, 568, 570 and 575), and silk thread at 1s. per oz. (I, 580). This thread at 1s. 4d. per lb. (whatever fabric it was) therefore takes a roughly intermediate position in price.

[2] The wax, which is employed consistently for all the candles, torches and mortar-lights used in the church seems to have been paid for at about the current price, for though Rogers (I, 449) gives 8d. per lb. as the average price in 1374, the average for the decade 1371-80 (and for the century as a whole) is only 6½d. (*ibid.*, p. 454).

If the total of £8 9s. 6d. is intended to be merely the cost of the raw material (303 lbs., at 6d. per lb.), it is a miscalculation for £7 11s. 6d. But probably the 18s. difference represents the cost of making the wax up into torches at a little less than ¾d. per lb. In items 26 and 28 the cost of making up the candles is given explicitly at 1d. per lb., and though in item 32 the cost of making up is not stated, it is evidently allowed for at the same rate. What the standard rate for candle-making may have been Rogers does not say, but in 1390 we find the monks of Westminster buying wax at just over 6d. per lb. and paying ½d. per lb. for having it made up (though it is not quite clear if the chandler had an annual wage as well). (Pearce, *op. cit.*, p. 17).

[3] Here the clerk seems to have calculated 2s. too much for making up 275 lbs. at 1d. per lb.—unless 2s. was the fee for taking down the old candles. But in the next item he certainly calculates 6d. too little.

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 30. To the same Roger for 2 similar round wax candles, weighing together 20 lbs., newly made for the anniversary, placed and remaining on the said tomb, at 7d., including the making . | | 11 | 8 |
| 31. To the same Roger for 8 wax mortar-lights (mortariis cereis) made by him and placed on the tomb during the anniversary [1] | | 8 | 0 |
| 32. And to the same for 4 lbs. of wax allotted for the celebration of the masses of the two chaplains celebrating in the said church of St. Paul for the soul of the said Blanche during the past year | | 2 | 4 |
| 33. Also to the same chaplains for bread and wine consumed by them in celebrating the said masses during the same period . | | 3 | 4 |
| 34. And in the boatman's fee (batallagio) paid for lord Poynings (dominus de Ponyng) and his wife who were at the anniversary at my lord's expense [2] . . . . . | | 0 | 4 |
| Total . . . . . | 20 | 0 | 6 |

[1] The *Medieval Latin Word List* gives " small lamp, cresset " for " mortarium" or " mortariolum," but the *New English Dictionary* defines " cresset " as " a vessel of iron . . . made to hold grease or oil . . . to be burnt for light; usually mounted on the top of a pole or building " ; so that the term " mortar " or " mortar-light," " a bowl of wax or oil with a floating wick . . . used esp. as a night-light " seems to come nearest to the meaning of the text.

In 1290 Bishop Swinfield paid 9d. for a " mortar " or " mortar-light " (*Household Roll* (as above), I, 41, and II, 247). Those made for the anniversary must have been fairly substantial " night-lights " weighing nearly 2 lbs. each.

[2] Why lord and lady Poynings in particular should have attended the anniversary at the duke's expense we cannot say. The " dominus de Ponyng " in question was, presumably, Thomas de Poynings, the head of the Sussex family of that name, who succeeded his father Michael in 1369 at the age of 20, and died in 1374. He does not appear to have been a tenant of the duke's or a member of his permanent retinue, but at the family seat at Poynings he was within easy reach of the duke's manor of Tarring (see map in Armitage-Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 218) and during his few years of manhood he was the duke's constant companion-in-arms, serving under his command in all his campaigns between 1369 and 1375. (Letters of protection to Thos. Ponynges or Thos. de Ponynges (sometimes also described as miles or chivaler) going abroad in the duke's company in 1369 (Foedera (*Record Comm. Edit.*), III, ii, 871); in 1370 (*Gascon Roll*, 44 Ed. III, m. 3); in 1372 (*Treaty Roll*, 46 Ed. III, m. 21); and in 1373 (*ibid.*, 47 Ed. III, m. 26).) In 1369 a special guardian was appointed for him because he was still under age (*ibid.*, 43 Ed. III, m. 14). His younger brother Richard, who succeeded him in 1375, went on the duke's Spanish expedition in 1386 (Foedera (orig. ed.), VII, 500; and his cousin Thomas (the son of Luke Poynings, younger brother of Michael) also served under the duke in 1373 (*Treaty Roll*, 47 Ed. III, m. 26). (For the Poynings family in general see Dugdale, *Baronage*, II, 134, and Kingsford in Dict. Nat. Biog. s.v. Poynings, Michael.)

Thomas's wife, who also attended the anniversary, was (according to Dugdale, *Baronage*, II, 134 (*b*)) Blanche de Mowbray. He does not say to what branch of

§ 4. Alms and Payments to the Clergy.

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 35. Also in alms distributed to the poor and to prisoners with the offerings at the high mass (magnam missam) on the day of the anniversary . . . . . | 10 | 0 | 0[1] |
| 36. In alms given to the five orders of friars in London for celebrating for the soul of the said Blanche . . . . . | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| 37. In payments (regardis) made to 8 of the canons (viii canonicorum) of the said church of St. Paul attending and serving at the said anniversary, one who celebrated high mass having 6s. 8d. and the rest 4s. 4d. . . . . | | | |
| And to 12 minor canons (parvis canonicis) each having 20d. and to 31 chaplains and 10 vicars each having 12d. . . . | | | |
| To 9 choristers (quercistres) and 4 servants (servientibus) of the said church having 6d.[2] each . . . . . | | | |
| To 3 bell-ringers (pulsatoribus) having 4d. each[3] . . . | 4 | 18 | 6 |
| Total . . . . . | 19 | 18 | 6 |
| Final total . . . . . | 45 | 4 | 10½[4] |

the family she belonged, but the barons Mowbray were for several generations close personal and political connexions of the house of Lancaster. In Edward II's reign, John, baron Mowbray, was a supporter of earl Thomas of Lancaster, and his son John married Joan, daughter of earl Henry of Lancaster (Dict. Nat. Biog. XXXIX, pp. 218 (*b*) and 219 (*b*)): in 1369 we find Mons. John de Moubray acting as a member of John of Gaunt's council (Harl. Charter 43 E. 15 printed in *Register*, II, no. 1811) and in Richard II's reign the earl of Nottingham (presumably John de Mowbray, created earl at Richard's coronation) appears in the list of his knights (*Duchy of Lancaster, Miscellaneous Books*, 14 f. 6).

Both husband and wife, therefore, independently of each other, had fairly strong family ties, either of marriage or service, with the house of Lancaster.

[1] The £10 given in alms (a substantial sum and a quarter of the total expenses of the anniversary) though less than the sums distributed from the various royal anniversary endowments, is not disproportionately so. Henry V's benefaction provided £20 a year for the poor (Pearce, *op. cit.*, p. 20), Queen Eleanor's fund provided £16 odd in 1372 for the poor and the abbey servants (*ibid.*, p. 17), and through Queen Anne's fund began by payng out £40 on the anniversary day as well as £30 in weekly doles during the year, the diminution in the value of the endowments had reduced the sum to £13 in 1404-1405 (*ibid.*, p. 19). Even more substantial sums, however, were sometimes given at the anniversaries of those of lower rank: at the anniversary service held a month after bishop Bitton's funeral, for example, over £26 was distributed to the poor (Executors' Accounts, p. 24).

[2] Misprinted " s " in the printed text.

[3] These payments to the cathedral staff are fairly closely paralleled by those at the anniversary and funeral services of bishops Bitton and Gravesend. At bishop Bitton's funeral at Exeter the canons received 6s. 8d. each, the vicars 2s.,

[*Continuation and note 4 on next page.*

the anniversary priests 1s., and the 14 choristers 6d. each, while at the anniversary service a month later the canons received 2s., the vicars 1s., and the choristers 3d. each (*ibid.*, pp. 23 and 24). After bishop Gravesend's funeral at St. Paul's his executors included in their accounts a sum of £6 " pitancia " to the clergy of the cathedral (*ibid.*, p. 100), the bishop in his will also providing for payments at his anniversary services yearly of 60s. to the major canons present, 20s. to the minor canons, 30s. to the vicars, and 10s. to the cathedral servants (*ibid.*, p. 113). It appears from another entry in the executors' accounts that there were at this time 32 vicars and 34 chaplains attached to the cathedral (*ibid.*, p. 109).

Dugdale (*History of St. Paul's*, p. 44) quotes a MS. of the Dean and Chapter showing the distribution of the total annual payments due for anniversaries and obits among the cathedral staff as follows :

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 30 canons | 64 | 0 | 0 |
| 12 petty canons | 28 | 11 | 6 |
| 6 lay vicars | 19 | 11 | 0½ |
| poor choristers | 27 | 2 | 10 |
| 4 vergers | | 52 | 8 |
| 2 poor bell-ringers | | 28 | 4 |
| 4 poor servants | | 13 | 4 |

Among the anniversaries listed in this document are those of John of Gaunt at 65s. 8d., and the duchess Blanche at 65s. 4d.

The total of this item is underestimated by 7s.

[4] The final total is 1s. short of that of the items as given, and 8s. 6d. short if items 27 and 37 are corrected.

# THE PLACE OF IMAGERY IN MENTAL PROCESSES.[1]

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THE malicious remark that musical critics either love music but do not know it, or know music but do not love it, tempts one to say the same of imagery. Several critics of imagery do not love it, but do they know it? This seems doubtful, for some confess proudly to the loss of their visualising powers, except when experiencing dreams, or a high bodily temperature. Neither condition favours that delicate observation of imagery upon which any judgment, either of its advantages or deficiencies, ought to be founded.

Imagery is not the only part of the psychological field where critics have based their opinions upon too few facts. Descriptions of pictorial art by certain psychologists have recently been criticised on the grounds that the examples chosen for study were trivial, and that only an artist can know the experience of planning and painting a picture. Some early psychological accounts of musical appreciation caused musically-minded psychologists to wonder how the choice of the musical pieces had been made. Experiments upon the appreciation of colour have been similarly criticised.

The purpose of this lecture is to describe some observations of imagery made by people who employ it regularly, and to suggest that any discussion of the place of imagery in mental processes ought not to be based upon facts obtained in a too

[1] An amplification of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 13th January, 1937.

narrow region. A large-scale conspectus will not be aimed at here, but only an attempt to emphasise some neglected considerations.

Frequent reference will be made to the valuable book *Remembering*[1] by Professor F. C. Bartlett, whose views are known to me both through formal discussion[2] and informal correspondence and conversation. Believing that images play fundamentally important parts in mental life, he writes: "the view that, since images are generally vague, fleeting, and variable from person to person, and from time to time, hardly any statement can be made about them which will not immediately be contradicted on very good authority, arises because most statements about imagery in traditional psychology concern their nature rather than their functions".[3] Bearing this in mind, I promise not to stray deliberately into metaphysics and epistemology.

Let us be clear about the sense in which the word 'image' will be used here. Modern writers employ the word in at least four different ways:[4]

(1) The psychological usage, which will characterise this lecture. Imaging is "the reference to a concrete object or situation, in the absence of peripherally aroused stimulation adequate to account for this reference. . . . 'Image' is the name we give to the way in which the concrete object or situation, which is then referred to, appears to us, when it appears in some sensory mode."[5]

(2) The strictly literary use, founded on rhetoric; simile, metaphor, figure of speech. This figure is usually founded on likeness, hence the term 'image'.

(3) A mental picture stimulated by words, or, as Dr. Samuel Johnson describes imagery: "Representations in writing;

[1] 1932, Cambridge University Press.

[2] F. Aveling, F. C. Bartlett and T. H. Pear, Symposium on "The Relevance of Visual Imagery to the Process of Thinking," *British Journal of Psychology*, XVIII, July, 1927.

[3] *Remembering*, p. 215.

[4] For this analysis I am indebted to Dr. Dorothy H. Farrar. It is taken in an abbreviated form from her unpublished thesis, *Images and Literary Imagery*, University of London Library.

[5] F. C. Bartlett, in the symposium already referred to.

such descriptions as force the image of the thing described upon the mind". Though Johnson's definition leaves a place for images other than visual, the stress is usually on the pictorial element.

(4) The ordinary and oldest use as given in the New English Dictionary; "imitation, copy, likeness, similitude".

As Dr. Farrar points out, one may pick up a book on, for instance, Shakespeare's Imagery, without knowing if the writer is concerned with the poet's use of figures of speech, his power of suggesting imagery to the reader by descriptive writing, whether figurative or not, or the imagery (visual, auditory, kinaesthetic, etc.) of the poet himself. Four modern writers, however, use the word 'image' with its strictly psychological significance: Mr. I. A. Richards, in *Principles of Literary Criticism*,[1] Mr. J. D. Beresford, in *Writing Aloud*,[2] Mr. Robert Graves, in *Poetic Unreason*,[3] pp. 264-276, and Professor Livingston Lowes, in his psychological treasury, *The Road to Xanadu*.[4]

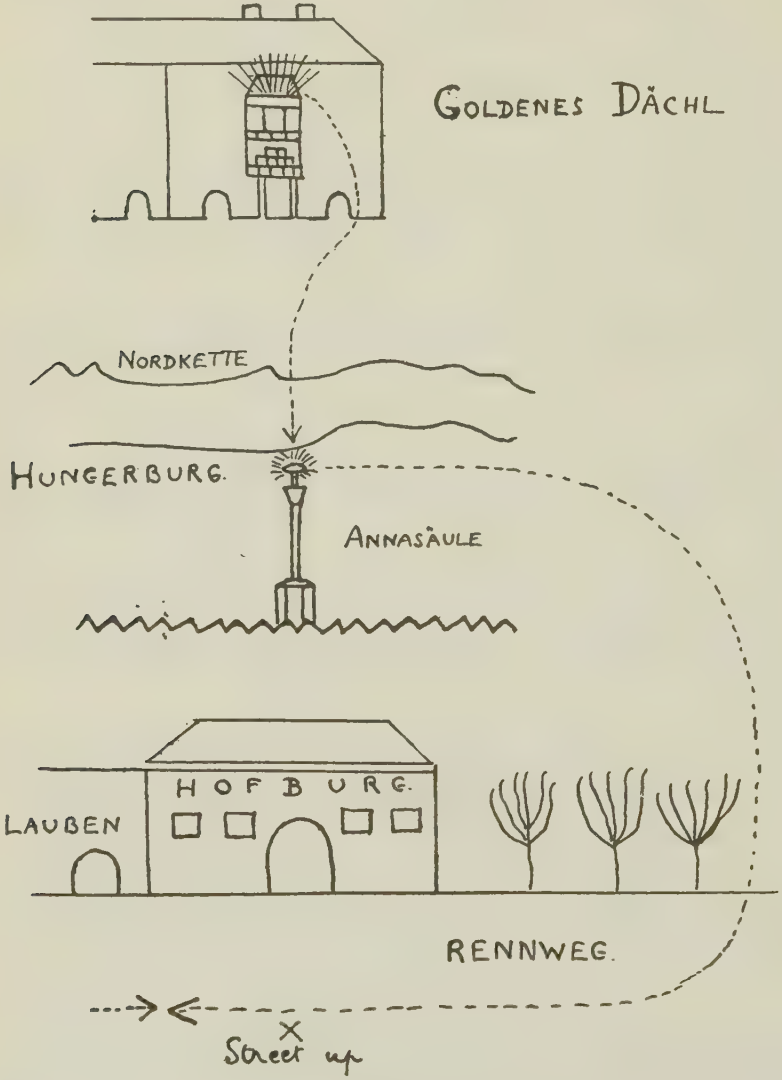
It would be important to distinguish between imagery illustrating radio-drama, (*a*) at the time of hearing, (*b*) immediately afterwards, (*c*) a reasonably short time, say twelve hours, afterwards, and (*d*) a really long time, e.g. a year afterwards. The problems raised are comparable with those suggested by the records of a dream made at different time-intervals after experiencing it.

It may be claimed with justice that some important functions of the scientist are to discover facts, to depict or describe them in ways which will allow many to make their acquaintance, and to abstract their meanings; further, by relating the facts to each other, to facilitate their better understanding; thus to discover, even to predict, new facts; and finally to fit this new knowledge into the general pattern of philosophy.

If one were writing about a study older than psychology, it might seem queer to offer this description of science in general. Unfortunately, this preface, with its insistence upon material, seems necessary to a discussion of imagery, for many writers

[1] London, Kegan Paul.
[2] London, Collins.
[3] London, 1925, Cecil Palmer.
[4] London, Constable.

upon this subject avoid cramping restrictions by mentioning the peculiar characteristics of their subject-matter as infrequently as possible. It is as if a zoologist should omit to produce specimens of the animals whose function he is describing. Some

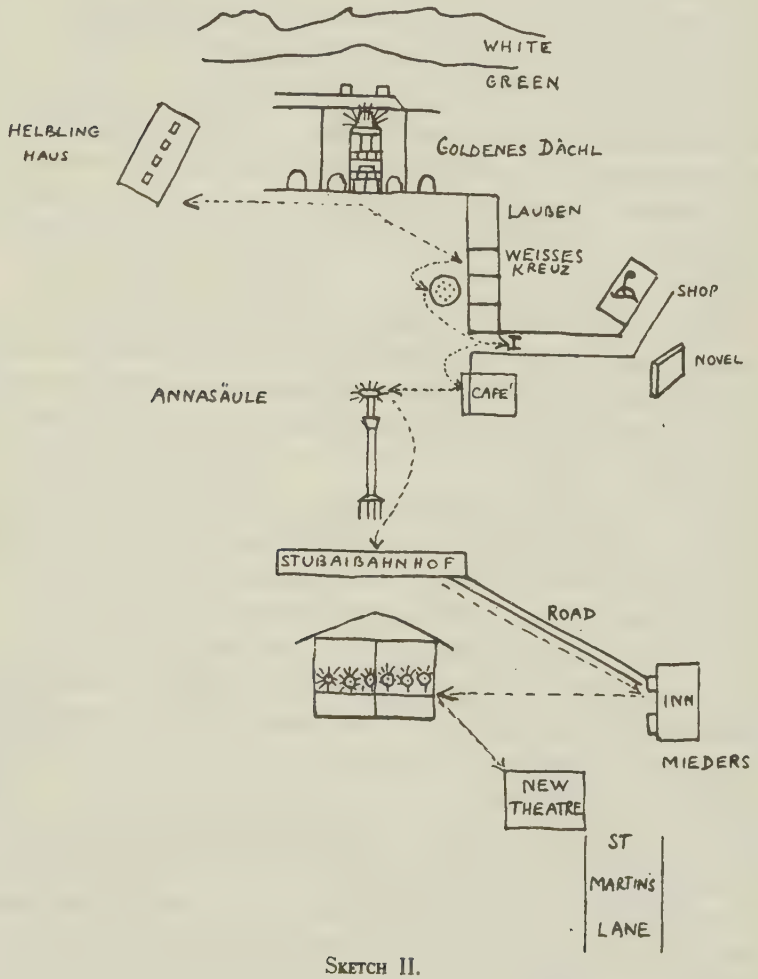



SKETCH I.

To illustrate notes made on September 16th, 1936.

psychologists' samples of imagery have been chosen with an asceticism which suggests that they may believe the mathematical

and logical aspects of life to be the only real ones. This might cause us to wonder what, if it had occurred to them, they would have written about the imagery of the Biblical writers, of Shakespeare, Blake, Swinburne and Coleridge; names which seldom appear in the author-index of a textbook of psychology.




SKETCH II.

To illustrate notes made on September 25th, 1936.

Perhaps, too, there ought to be more encouragement to record facts in novel parts of the psychological field; workers in a young science ought not to adopt, towards the collectors of its material, the impersonal, *blasé* attitude of a modern chemist towards a

collier. The chemist owes much to coal, but his debt was acknowledged long ago. For many years to come, psychologists ought to regard the gatherers of their material as anthropologists look upon field-workers. This might counteract a common tendency to write abstractly about abstraction, and to generalise about generalisation, with a minimum of illustrative facts.

I am aware that the lines which follow may appear to some minds as a record of events which are not facts. This opinion is justified if, and only if, facts are defined as events accessible (in principle at least) to everyone. But if this view of facts as 'public property' be accepted, a new term is badly needed for mental events which, though private, are highly significant to the experiencer; often more so than events which are public property.[1]

Let me, then, venture to offer you some notes [2] which I made on September 16th, 1936, when thinking about suitable matter for this lecture. I should add that I had very recently returned from Innsbruck; a city which in more senses than one was still colouring my thoughts.

While meditating, I had a train of vivid images, following each other very rapidly. I immediately wrote down, very hastily, words which would fix and characterise the images for me. The sketches of these images, on pages 196 and 197, were made very quickly and roughly, at a later time, in an attempt to acquaint non-visualisers with the ways in which visual images may appear, through a kind of visual logic, in a connected series.[3]

These are the notes, in a language meant, at the time, only for the writer:

> Gold'nes Dächl, sparkling; [the] gold of [the] Annasäule, against [the] silent dark green of Mariabrunn [Hungerburg] shifts instantaneously to [the] cream and gold and green of [the] Hofburg, and (surprisingly for me) an attenuated, schematic ring [-ing sound] of picks against stone—they are re-laying [re-paving] the Rennweg.

[1] This matter has been discussed recently by Mr. A. D. Ritchie, in Chapter VI. of his *The Natural History of Mind*, London, 1936, Longmans.

[2] Square brackets enclose words which have been added merely to make these private notes comprehensible to the reader; round brackets were part of the original notes, and should be given the ordinary meaning.

[3] They were shown, as lantern slides at this part of the lecture.

Since the above lines are a record of psychological material, they are given as they were written down. It would be tedious for the reader to interpret my comments, made immediately after recording these images, so I will paraphrase them, with as much fidelity as possible, omitting one or two merely personal remarks.

*Note.*—This train of imagery is a fact for me, and for the existentialist psychologist. It may obtrude itself when its presence is unwelcome, as now, when I ought to be reconciled once more to Manchester. (Yet note the possible ambivalence of attitude in the word ' unwelcome ').

It might seem to be irrelevant, since I am about to prepare a lecture.

It might seem to be unhelpful. Yet this train of images itself, or the urge which it symbolises (here is a psychological problem of the relation of imagery to desire), may ' skew ' a whole long-range programme of personal plans, either in a specific direction, causing me to ask myself: " Shall I save up for another holiday there? " or, generally, " Is a post in an unbeautiful place worth while, if a job could be obtained in a beautiful one? "

These visual images cannot be adequately communicated to anyone else, even by an artist, for he would take time to paint something which in fact occurred as instantaneously as the sweep of sunshine over a hillside—and he will select from all the possible aspects to be depicted, but not the ones which my mind chose.

Note, too, that this image-series can't be measured in any useful way—compare Mr. Lawrence Hyde's strictures upon sociologists, and others, who confuse significance with measurability.[1]

Visual imagery, they say, has died out in the minds of many philosophers. But are they likely to be good philosophers if they are staggering about on one good leg, with the other atrophied?

Here this day's records end. They are reproduced here with nearly all the comments, because, since records and comments were all written at one sitting, it is important to omit nothing. Nine days later, entirely forgetting that I had already made these notes (a fact which possibly illustrates how much my attention was focussed upon the visual images while describing them, and how little upon the words or the act of writing), I wrote down a record which is significant both for its likeness to and its difference from its predecessor.

" Drop Cloth " [2]—deep green going up to near-white with a felt tendency of eye to follow it—Gold'nes Dächl glittering in sun, and glimpse of

[1] In *The Learned Knife*, London, Gerald Howe.

[2] Describing the view of the Nordkette (North Chain of the Alps) as seen from the Maria Theresien Strasse, since they appear to be just at the end of this street.

the Lauben [Arcades]—eye flicks to left to the Helblinghaus and to right to Weisses Kreuz (Mozart)[1] and the jewelled sign[2]—a tentative move towards the side street where they sell the attractive hats (green cover of novel with that title).[3] No—step to Schindler's [Café]—gold of Annasäule—camera[4] racks back to Stubai Bahnhof [then] to Mieders (the balconies flash out in their flowers, giving place to those at the 'New' (theatre) in St. Martin's Lane).[5]

This is the way in which I begin to tackle an entirely reasonable and practical problem. The first question is "Where do we want to go if we could take a Continental holiday?"; its second: "Could we?" To answer the first, I visualise the Tyrol; to answer the second, my bank pass-book, in which, curiously perhaps, but not inexplicably, the figures appear, not in the bank-clerk's, but in my own writing.

In view of Freud's hypothesis that the dream is in some sense a wish-fulfilment, it is interesting that these strings of imagery contain, almost exclusively, references to buildings which I had either not visited at all, or had merely glanced at, with the express intention of returning. Thus I had never examined the 'Dächl' in detail, to my present regret, because I was living near it; and 'any time would do'; I had not been inside the Helblinghaus, the Weisses Kreuz, or Schindler's, and had neither stopped at the Annasäule nor alighted at Mieders. On the other hand, the scores of things in the district which I had seen satisfactorily do not appear in either of these trains of imagery, which therefore may be compensatory in function.[6] To the non-psychologist this possibility may seem obvious, but he may not know of the vast canyons which yawn between most psychological laboratories and most psycho-therapists' consulting-rooms. For non-psychologists, therefore, and for psychologists whose visual

[1] Mozart often played in this house.

[2] Outside a shop near the Weisses Kreuz.

[3] Barbara Worsley-Gough's *A Feather in Her Cap.*

[4] I.e. the 'inward eye.'

[5] The 'balcony-scene' in *Autumn Crocus.* C. L. Anthony's play about the Tyrol is said to have been written at Mieders.

[6] Miss Ann Bridge, who kindly read the typescript of this article, writes: "I have noticed that the material of my dreams of mountains is nearly always 'of a place half-seen or seen imperfectly once' ('Mountains in Dreams,' *Mountaineering Club Journal*, 1914), never of places constantly visited."

images are sparse or infrequent, the above facts have been set down.

It has been pointed out to me by Dr. Dorothy Gandine-Stanton, that the two series of images appear to depict no living being. Her own visual images of Tyrol, she believes, would inevitably include X, Y, Z, her friends. The question of image and meaning arises here in an interesting form. A meaning like that of the second image-series, a holiday providing numerous variations of beautiful scenery and buildings, occurs to me very exceptionally. Most of my everyday plans concern pleasant people in drab surroundings, while the image-series in question emphasises non-human beauty. Yet, in the images of the hat-shop and the novel there are explicit personal references, and implicit ones, too, in other images, e.g. of the café and the theatre.

The use of this series of images seems to be an obvious example of directed thinking, conducted without any words. Interestingly, the image of the New Theatre symbolised an earlier incentive, since seeing *Autumn Crocus* was one of the events which made me wish to go to the Tyrol. These vivid and moving visual images are neither irrelevant nor discrepant, nor are they merely an æsthetic luxury. They offer, I submit, a natural way of answering the question : " What do I want to do ? " They probably provide as quick and conclusive a way as any other, and to say merely this may even under-state their value.

One may ask whether it is not possible to have effective knowledge of the kind described above, without visual or any other imagery. Perhaps ; to receive a cheque for a birthday present by post may be more convenient than to see a new bicycle, car or horse arriving at the front door, but less exciting. It is here that one may inquire " What is meant by effective knowledge ? " At one moment, logical cogency may be the determinative criterion of effectiveness ; at another, emotional excitement or æsthetic appreciation. Picturesqueness is more desirable for the successful holiday of a Mancunian than for those who work in beautiful surroundings, and therefore, fittingly enough, it colours the imagery used in thinking of the holiday.

Reference has been made to the austerity of many experiments upon imagery. Their material has usually been unexciting,

almost uninteresting. Some visualisers, like myself, would say that usually the visual image arises in response to some interest, urge or drive from within the mind or body; when we wish to adjust ourselves to, or to run away from, some important situation, real or imagined. In such cases it seems inconceivable that we could be wearied with the process of imaging. We may ourselves image a boring thing, but that is quite different from having a boring percept thrust upon us, since often the purpose of our imagery is to remove the tedious object. A similar distinction is made by Freud, when he points out that trivial and absurd things occurring in a dream may be the vehicles of a serious comment upon some related thing which the dreamer judges to be trivial or absurd.

Some experimenters upon imagery have used those materials which bored many of us when at school; geometrical figures, diagrams, and the like. The motives in choosing them for us, whether they moved experimenters or teachers (the fact that in a psychological laboratory the two rôles are often played by the same person is not insignificant in this connexion) seem reasonable, at times all-too-reasonable, for visual imagery often refers to unabstracted, warmer, livelier experiences than diagrams, which are easily made, easily measurable and free from disturbing emotional factors. Consequently, some material offered in laboratories to evoke imagery bears as much resemblance to the circumstances of every-day imaging as swallowing peptonised powder does to enjoying a delicious meal. In the famous *Inquiry into Human Faculty*, Sir Francis Galton, using that unexciting method, the questionnaire, asked his friends to visualise a breakfast-table, and that an English one in the early nineties. His successors seem to have offered their guests rusks and water.

The fact that such materials may fail to interest a visualiser is important, for such a 'subject' may not do what he is asked, but something else which interests him more. This alternative activity, disappointing to the experimenter, who will probably not record it, is sometimes called day-dreaming. But, since the relation of day-dreaming to logically directed thinking, on the one hand, and to night-dreaming on the other, has never been sufficiently worked out, some new data of interest might be

obtained if the conditions of experimentation were made more interesting.[1] Similar comments have recently been made by Professor Beatrice Edgell.[2]

So far as I know, the only investigations into imagery which have employed, as material, experiences which usually provoke vivid imagery, are those with situations resembling radio-plays. The advantage of radio-plays is that they provide material which has been proved interesting. Sometimes this material has already succeeded as a popular novel, and later as a radio-play. It is worth mentioning that some of those who adapt such material for the radio, as for example Mr. Lance Sieviking, are visualisers, and, moreover occasionally appear to assume the presence of this trait in their audience.

Before proceeding to discuss experiments with exciting material offered to numbers of subjects, I will describe an examination of my own experience, which I made while listening in silence, alone, and in almost complete darkness, to a radio-play. It was adapted from Anthony Hope's novel *Rupert of Hentzau*. Fuller details of these observations are given in my *Voice and Personality* [3] (pp. 96 f.).

I made no notes immediately after listening, but allowed the memories to have their way with me. The next morning, in bed, I thought over the experiences of the previous night before getting up. Most, if not all, of the visual images aroused at the time of the drama recurred quite readily, nearly twelve hours later.

It is not implied that they were the 'same' images which I had when listening,[4] but they appeared to resemble their predecessors.

These particular images semed unlike images which arise spontaneously in the waking state, in the following respect. They are certainly fusions, conglomerations or condensations of earlier experiences, or of earlier images of such experiences, yet the tangle which they form seems harder to unravel than that

[1] Respect for the interest of the 'subjects' is a pleasing characteristic of Dr. Hadley Cantril's investigation; "General and Specific Altitudes," *Psychological Monographs*, 1932, XLII, 5, Whole Number 192.

[2] *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society.*

[3] London, 1931, Chapman & Hall.

[4] *Ibid.*

which is made by ordinary images of imagination. I should be inclined to think (if the slender basis of these observations is sufficient to justify a speculation) that the parallel with dream-images, which temptingly offers itself, is imperfect. Dream-images, every serious student of dreams would agree (unfortunately few of them write text-books of psychology) are usually symbols of complexes which have existed for some time in the dreamer's mind, and therefore are extremely important to him, however trivial and irrelevant they may seem to the external observer. In radio-drama the experiences evoking the images are suddenly sprung upon the listener. His personal complexes may or may not be ready to leap out to receive them, and immediately to illustrate them by vivid images. To exemplify this, while I might be ready to provide vivid if inaccurate visual images for a radio-play, *In the Crevasse*, where, during the last war, an Austrian professor and an Italian artist who have fallen, unhurt, into a deep crevasse, are moved by this unusual situation to converse frankly, I could probably produce nothing vivid or exciting for a scene in which someone is accused of cheating at bridge, though many others might find this demand easy to meet.

For such reasons, perhaps, many of my 'Hentzau' images do not seem to be embedded, or embodied,[1] very deeply in my past. They seem diagrammatic, two-dimensional and half unreal. They may be hard to 'place' in time or space. They may be definitely 'unsatisfactory'; i.e. they do not fit the radio-voices or sounds. In comparison, both my images of ordinary waking life and my dream-images seem to be more definitely a part of myself, for which I feel responsible. The radio-play images, however, are forced upon me. They may be very loosely conglomerated; e.g. the avenue in which Anthony Hope's hero is attacked, disintegrates readily into Hobbema's poplar-bordered "Avenue Middelharnis"; the walk leading to the entrance gates of Schönbrunn (a picture-postcard of this had been propped up on my desk for some weeks, when these observations were made) and another avenue, unidentified. Perhaps—this is merely a suggestion—when the mind is required

[1] Cf. T. H. Pear, *Remembering and Forgetting*, pp. 165 f., London, 1922, Methuen.

quickly to produce a composite image, involving abstraction from three or more, it tends for economy's sake to use materials like pictures, which have already undergone much abstraction. Mechanistic psychologists might try to imagine the brain-machinery by which, without a moment's warning, a dark avenue, never seen before, in an imaginary country, can be vividly portrayed by one's mind, out of older material, only partly recognisable as belonging to one's past.

It would be interesting to compare these improvised, often inadequate, images with image-fusions which may have taken years to form, like those so brilliantly hinted at by Professor Livingston Lowes in *The Road to Xanadu*. If we may assume (and it seems reasonable) that a poet like Coleridge images his material more than once, the problem of imaging an image arises. It is obviously complex and important.

A further fact might be cited here. At one moment, *Rupert of Hentzau* compelled me to visualise a foreign railway station at which something serious might, and something unexpected would happen. I have little doubt that the peculiar illustrative images were derived from a holiday which had been clouded by a very similar foreboding; a good example, perhaps, of a 'conscious attitude' evoking a connected image. This matter has been discussed by Hadley Cantril.[1] The above evidence seems to show that when exciting material is used, the images produced are not entirely comparable with those evoked in the usual type of laboratory experiment. Furthermore, the use of radio-drama material on the one hand, and of dream-material on the other, would bring out differences in 'readiness' of images, and in the intensity and quality of emotional colouring which they derive by association from the past experiences of the imager.

Attention may here be called to the fact that when 110 University graduates listened to a 'thriller' record,[2] 101 of them, when remembering it, visualised. Now, if the claims of University teachers are allowed, all these listeners had received practice in thinking. Even if in some persons visual imagery

[1] *Op. cit.*

[2] Madeline Kerr and T. H. Pear, "Unseen Drama and Imagery," *British Journal of Psychology,*

may not be used extensively in abstract thinking, clearly we must assume that the power of visualising is by no means atrophied in the University graduate, and is available when the mind is presented with exciting material.[1]

> It seems possible that those who are rich in visual and poor in auditory imagery might find radio-drama especially pleasing, since the voices, with their intensity, clearness, "colouring," variety and unexpectedness, might supply just what this type of mind lacks. It seems also theoretically possible that persons whose auditory imagery was rich, ready, flexible and satisfying might not wish to hear radio-drama, unless it was very good or path-breaking, any more than a vivid visualiser wishes to see illustrations in a novel, or to go to the cinema, unless it offers something out of the ordinary. But since appetite grows by what it feeds on, these matters are not simple.

To pass from the experimentalist's limited material, and cautious procedure, to the methods of the writer and producer of radio-plays, is to enter another world, in which large-scale things happen, which are not easily measurable. Yet in *Remembering*, Professor F. C. Bartlett has shown that the experimentalist's data can be interpreted only if the total experience of which the remembered image was a part is considered, rather than the isolated image, and that the social patterns in which both the perception and the memory have occurred, shape the whole course of remembering. This is reason enough to discuss here the many stimulating suggestions of psychological problems in Mr. Lance Sieviking's *The Stuff of Radio*.[2] We do this with a sense of hurry, since television is already here, and the future of soundless broadcasting is the topic of practical discussion.

A single quotation will suggest that Mr. Sieviking is a visualiser. He writes of an early radio-production, *The Wheel of Time*, in 1926, "when I tried to organise the Sitwell family, Harold Scott, Elsa Lanchester and some other people, into some kind of dramatic unity, and achieved a sort of Fonthill Abbey in sound". Mr. Sieviking interests the psychologist in that he uses, for professional purposes, not only his visual but his auditory imagery. He writes (pp. 86-87):

[1] Cf. T. H. Pear, "The Relevance of Visual Imagery to the Process of Thinking," *British Journal of Psychology*. 1927, XXVIII, pp. 1-14.

[2] 1934, London, Cassell.

After a number of years of careful listening and collating of notes, each producer has built up a big book of categories and cross-references, characteristics, talents, qualities, personalities, tone, timbre, pitch, types of parts taken, with what degree of success, and so on. The notes attached to a name serve to revive his memory of the voice. With his mind's ear he listens again to the voice and brings to life for an instant his impressions of the personality. If the notes should for some reason fail to make him hear the voice, he would not dream of casting the name for any part. I have sometimes revived in my mind's ear voices which I had not heard for several years, and which I had never heard often. Some of these were voices which had qualities I had been able to describe as similar to those in people very familiar to me.

I will pause for a moment and open my casting-book here and there at random: . . . produceable . . . effusive: rich, high, light, curly hair, curly voice. Rather like George B——. . . . Intelligent, young, clear, but epicene: cross between —— and ——. A worker. Played ——, and ——.

Distinctive, old-world, slightly demon-king, smalls. . . . Queer, bent voice: distinctive: faint pinched vowels but admirable humour: accomplished 35-45, light.

Thin, reedy, white hair, curious, good at ghost-ridden faithful retainers . . . knows his stuff.

Grand juicy voice full of relish and horror, weird, peculiar. For spirits and people who appear suddenly from nowhere. . . .

Mr. Sieviking assumes that his ability or inability to evoke an auditory image of a voice indicates the likelihood of its impressing others. This may be so, yet it might be an idiosyncrasy. I am often impressed by the beauty or ugliness, friendliness or enmity of voices, but nearly as often find it impossible to recall them in auditory images, and search, sometimes in vain, for 'descriptive' words. This is probably a special case of a well-known problem; the relation between perception which is vivid and emotionally toned, and the ability subsequently to image this percept in the sense-sphere most characteristic of it.

Mr. Sieviking's own gifts of imagery appear when he says: "Many radio-plays are written in a sort of shorthand peculiar to the writer. He hears his script as a musician hears his score." This seems at least possible, but so many instances are known of intellectual performances occurring in the absence of just the type of imagery which one might have expected to be indispensable, that it would be profitable to collect the experiences of

other radio-playwrights. When, too, he writes (p. 29), "the radio-producer simply evokes all this in his imaginative listener's mind," Mr. Sieviking makes a reasonable assumption, yet raises questions concerning the sense-sphere of the imagery employed by the imaginative listener.

In many other parts of this book problems are suggested to the psychologist: e.g. the author's visual image of the world, when producing a play (p. 45); his questions, "What is the difference between the experience of those who think the actors on a cinema screen are real, and of those who know the actors are not?" and "How far is the radio-play listener's belief that the voices are *alive*, the whole story?" (p. 51); the psychological distinction of six kinds of sound-effects in radio-plays (p. 65); whether an analytic attitude on the listener's part is incompatible with visualisation (p. 67); the use of visual imagery by the producer to suggest the complex reminiscence of a summer afternoon (p. 88) and to 'graph' the play with its level places, its climaxes, depth and height (p. 97); the question whether if the play-producer has unclear or undecided visual images, the listener necessarily gets 'tied up in a knot' (p. 107).

So far, little or no attention has been paid to the interesting questions, to what extent when a visualiser listens to a radio-play he visualises during the listening? and how far visualisation occurs while the play is being remembered, especially when it is being described to others?

*Verbal Imagery.*

What is the nature of the verbal image? Presumably, its structural make-up is not different in kind from that of other images, but here enters a special difficulty, due to the social significance of words; for this reason, perhaps, some psychologists speak of verbal imagery and verbalisers as if they were a special class.

Verbal images are specially important, for often they are the most significant vehicles of meaning. But perhaps for similar reasons, the automobile is a specially important vehicle, and the extent to which it dominates, even terrorises, society would merit a special book. Yet it is only a special collection of bits of

animal, vegetable and mineral. Moreover, one is often free to employ another type of vehicle, and anyone who believes that words are indispensable for the conveyance of meaning might consider the performances of Beethoven, Raphael and Praxiteles.

We will therefore, for the moment, regard images of words not in a separate category, but just as images which carry a full and easily available meaning. It then becomes obvious that, for our present purposes, to classify word-images into visual, auditory, tactile, kinæsthetic, etc., is indispensable. Now, few modern writers seem to have considered the following question: to what extent is a writer, when choosing his words, guided by their appearance as he images them, their imaged sound (if so, in whose voice?), their imaged 'feel' in his speech-mechanism, or a blend or rapid alternation of some or all of these?

You might find it interesting to ask yourselves: "When writing, by what criteria do I judge the suitability of the following words: hiker, viewer, jazz or swing music, parity, totalitarian, *gleichgeschaltet*? In what mental terms are these criteria presented?" (Even your irritation at being compelled to think of their meanings is worth observing, because of its possible relevance.)

As an example, I have recorded a few experiences when I consider whether to use certain English or German words:

*Doch*—useful, indispensable, but sounds clumsy; stodgily resistant; have a suspicion, at once rejected, that it is stupid; this rejection is followed by a visual image (possibly preceded by a faint auditory image) of 'blockhead,' and a visual image of a friend who looks stupid, and isn't.

*Refuse* or *decline* an invitation? 'Refuse' evokes a visual image of someone petulantly pushing away another person; then a visual image of Charlie Chaplin, pushing the face of someone he doesn't like. 'Decline' brings a faint picture of leaning away, growing into the visual image of a skater avoiding a person by an easy 'change of edge'; possibly illustrating the meaning of 'clino' to bend, though here 'lean away' is better.

The use of 'prior to,' where 'before' is adequate, evokes a visual image of a self-conscious, fussy minor official giving evidence, and 'over-compensating' by using unnecessarily long words.

*Assent, agree, support, concur, demur,* and similar words useful on committees, are represented by flashes of visual imagery, a solemn nod, a smiling handshake, a sulky silence or polite interruption.

The phrase *und zwar* following a statement, to me, probably because of insufficient knowledge of German, often seems unnecessarily formal, and soon calls up a picture of a formally dressed person.

Dr. Wallace Craig has reopened some question of verbal imagery in an article " Observations on Internal Speech ".[1] He has experimented upon himself, to find out whether it is possible for him to experience a wordless state of consciousness. He writes :

> I have endeavoured to find the answer to this question by engaging in activities involving vivid, non-linguistic consciousness. One such occupation, one which seems very suitable for this experiment, is sketching. In order to experiment on our problem, I made a pencil sketch of the opposite corner of the room where I am writing, with the walls and furniture, and I interrupted the sketching at times to examine my consciousness. The findings may be reported briefly as follows :—
>
> (1) In sketching, the eye and the hand work under their own guidance. Sketching could never be completely controlled by speech. Indeed, much of it is untranslatable into speech.
>
> (2) But the internal voice talks on and on. It speaks about sketching, about the psychological problem which is under investigation, and about other matters which come surging into my thoughts. When attention is given intensely to the immediate work of the eye or the pencil, I believe that my internal speech is sometimes suspended for a few moments, but not longer than a few moments.
>
> (3) To a certain extent the sketching actually promotes internal speech, especially when there is some development easily expressed in words, as when I make a new observation on the construction of the furniture which I am drawing. The internal voice makes remarks such as : " That line's *not* horizontal. . . . That partition's thicker than the other one."
>
> (4) I try, with special effort, aided by holding the breath, to concentrate attention on a detail of the sketching, in order that all words may be

[1] Wallace Craig and T. H. Pear, *Memoirs of Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society,* 1937. Dr. Craig insists that my name shall appear as co-author, though he is responsible for everything in it except a part containing my introspections.

> forgotten. Under these conditions, even when all *words* are inhibited, I often find myself saying " m, m " with each movement of eye or hand, as if this " m, m " could assist in guiding the work. Also there is at frequent intervals a second internal voice ; it is so quiet that it might escape observation, but it is urging on the whole psychic activity, saying : " Hold your attention now. . . ."
>
> I have tried many such experiments, not only with sketching but also with other non-linguistic activities. I have engaged in thinking in terms of visual images ; for example, solving a problem in geometry, mentally, by means of the visual image. In all these experiments, the findings have been similar to those reported for the experience of sketching : although the principal activity is non-verbal, it is accompanied by a stream of words which is practically continuous. . . .
>
> . . . Not only is my internal speech continuous, but I am unable to stop it for any considerable time, even when I try to do so. Although I can stop the flow of speech for a few moments, the wordless interval is usually no longer than a pause such as an orator may make in the midst of an oration. When I try to suppress words for a longer time, the internal voice still continues, singing, or uttering expressive sounds such as " m, m." If I try to suppress all words by saying " m, m, m, . . . " continuously with the internal voice, then, before long, a second internal voice comes into play, speaking in words, commenting on the whole experiment.

Craig adds that some examples of internal speech are more subjective than others ; e.g. in his experiments, when the obvious internal speech was eliminated for a few moments, he discovered that there was a very quiet voice speaking, much deeper in the mind, and likely to be overlooked. Craig points out that even in Pintner's distraction experiments, he found that while his subjects were saying ' la, la, la ' continuously aloud, they were at the same time articulating internally the words of the text they were reading. That is, they were speaking simultaneously with two voices, an overt voice and an internal voice. This phenomenon tells against the motor theory of internal speech in its different forms propounded by Stricker (1880) and J. B. Watson (1914 and 1931) ; variants which are discussed by Craig. Yet, as he points out, a critic might object to these examples on the ground that they do not prove clearly that there was *simultaneity* between the sounds of the overt voice and those of the internal voice. Moreover, in all investigations previous to Craig's the internal

voice had been known only to introspection, and this evidence is unconvincing to the behaviourists.

Craig overcomes these objections simply. He repeats the syllable 'la' continuously, and simultaneously counts the number of 'la's, reporting when he has spoken, say, 120 or any other chosen number of 'la's. The counting is done by an internal voice, but when he reports that he has counted 120, and this number is found to be correct, there is clearly objective evidence that he was counting. As to simultaneity; the sound of 'la, la, la' can be made so rapid and so continuous that it is impossible for the numbers, internally spoken, to come between the 'la's. Moreover, by introspection, Craig can make sure that the internal voice speaks a number simultaneous with every 'la'. Any other syllable or simple word can be used instead of 'la'.

This fact definitely disproves the theory that the internal speech consists of actual movements of the muscles of the vocal organs, since a muscle cannot move in two directions at once, and it is impossible that the speech-muscles should be producing continuously 'la' or 'do,' etc., and at the same time be formulating the numbers 'one,' 'two,' 'three,' etc.

A further, perhaps more interesting, fact came to light in these experiments. For Craig there is always a third voice, more subjective than the other two. He calls these three concurrent voices the overt, the counting and the commentary voice. The last named says, for example, "Be careful! . . . Are those 'la's continuous? . . . Are you counting right? . . . That's fine." It is difficult to report the exact words of this voice. It is not automatic, like the others. Craig concludes, "No doubt the experiment will yield the same result in the case of any person who is a strong verbaliser".

I do not know if anyone has yet carried out such an experiment upon a subject who is not a strong verbaliser, but the results would be of considerable interest.

I will now indicate the ways in which these observations seem to supplement Professor Bartlett's in *Remembering*, merely remarking that, *pace* the behaviourists, the visual image is not 'reducible' to a verbal formula.

Professor Bartlett states his views thus, . . . "it is somewhere

in the realm between direct sensorial response and the bare use of words, that images have their most important functions" (p. 216). "It is only when specific meanings are developed out of images that words can flow" (p. 216). Perhaps because I am a visualiser, I find it difficult to imagine how meanings are developed out of images, or how words can flow. In fact, the ways of connexion between an image and its meaning still seem very obscure, and there is a corresponding difficulty in finding descriptive verbs. Some writers seem content with 'tied up to,' 'tied with,' or 'tacked on to' as a description. All these phrases seem to imply a spatial separateness, together with spatial contiguity, and not a fusion. Matches are tied up and cloths are tacked on to each other. Professor Bartlett, in a personal letter which answers some of my criticisms, reminds me, fairly enough, that some cross-word makers and solvers, clumsy punsters, and some essay-writers do, alas, 'tack on' meaning to images; while of the true and delicate images it would be more correct to say that meanings are 'discovered' or 'seen' in them.

He thinks that the outstanding function of the image proper is its individualising character (p. 218). If when we remembered or thought, past situations were always to act upon us *en masse*, and the events which had happened were to repeat themselves in strict chronological order, the process would be biologically uneconomical (and, one might add, desperately boring). To surmount these difficulties the method of images has been evolved. He regards the image as "a device for picking bits out of schemes, for increasing the chance of variability in the reconstruction of past stimuli and situations, for surmounting the chronology of presentations". "The image facilitates the operation of the past in relation to the somewhat changed conditions of the present."

This describes the image's function in a process which I should call "thinking out" to distinguish it from "thinking of".

He writes that "the position and the main justification of the image are given by its affective character. It almost seems as if images merely provide a kind of æsthetic luxury." But I have now tried to show that there may be a visual logic, that the

way in which visual images lead up to each other may be different from the way in which words evoke each other and that, for a visualiser, visual imagery is probably essential, when he makes up his mind as to what he wishes to do. We ought to try to discover the kinds of connexions which are functionally prominent when image-material and word-material respectively hold the stage; and the types of material which can be best dealt with by images, and by words. Nobody knows this better than those who try to bring home the meanings of common things to the average man, by means of the cinema. Perhaps, too, the current ignorance of economic issues is partly the result of the experts' preference for transmitting their meanings almost entirely in non-visual terms. Dr. Otto Neurath's visual statistics, now well-known, make many abstractions clear, through concrete illustrations, to those who might otherwise never understand them.

I am vividly conscious that this attempt to discuss the place of the image in psychology lacks the poised, detached calm which one rightly expects in a Rylands Lecture. But in a new study, poise may be bought too dearly. The place of the visual image in psychology may be to give a tang of affective reality to our thinking. And that, some visualisers suspect, is absent from the thinking of some verbalisers. Yet to solve these problems, we need many more expositions of the functions of imagery, by people whose imagery takes other lines than mine; less pictorial, perhaps less uncommon, but probably more significant.

# DANTE'S PREPARATION FOR THE DIVINE COMEDY.[1]

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JUST forty years ago, in this same merry month of May, I was making my first pilgrimage to the city which drove into lasting exile the greatest of its many illustrious sons. Forty years ago we still were living, if not in the golden age, yet in an age when the gold *standard* at least was not corrupted, when frontiers could be crossed without passports, when no cloud had fallen upon the ancient friendship of two peoples, when war was less than a rumour, and even the most attentive ear could scarcely catch the sound of muffled drums. In a word, it was the very hour for beginning, at however respectful a distance, to contemplate the immortal shade of Dante, in the hope that some day, even as he was himself allowed to pass within *le segrete cose*, he might admit one more devout admirer to the inner shrine of his art.

It cannot have been more than a year or two later that, with something of a shock, I came upon the statement that already there existed about 5000 works devoted to Dante and his manifold affairs. There was, to be sure, this small consolation, that no one was under any moral obligation to write the 5001st. Yet now that those forty years have slipped away, and when the five thousand, for aught I know, may have grown into six, it certainly is no light matter to be invited to deliver, in any place of learning, a discourse upon a poet thus woefully harassed by his friends. On any such occasion the choice lies, broadly, between two alternatives. Either one may wander off into the devious by-ways of research, in the hope of finding some sequestered nook still unoccupied by tourists ; or sticking boldly to the highway, one may



[1] A lecture delivered in the University of Manchester.

turn once more to the authentic text of Dante, with full assurance that its treasures are not yet exhausted. Of these two courses I have chosen, without hesitation, the second. True as it is that one can barely reach the first milestone without blundering into some pitfall of erudition, my object is simply to enquire of Dante himself how he came to write this *Comedy* which the world has named 'divine,' and in what ways he prepared himself for so stupendous a task.

It is a safe conjecture that nearly everyone begins his reading of Dante on the threshold of the *Inferno*, and a safe verdict that in so doing he is right. In the *Divina Commedia* is expressed the whole genius of its author, and if many are content to begin and end their study with the perusal of its hundred cantos, it would ill become those whose curiosity has led them a little further to give themselves superior airs. Nevertheless, my intention here and now is, not only to set aside the *Commedia* itself, but to invite you to indulge your fancy to the point of imagining that, by some strange catastrophe, nothing had survived of the poet's masterpiece but a lingering rumour, and perhaps the shadow of a name. Vanished civilisations we disinter with laborious spades, and reconstruct their glory by cunning inferences from the fragments that remain. Suppose, then, in like manner, that we had of Dante more, indeed, than the relics of Babylon or Nineveh, but not more than a complete edition of his minor works. What evidence should we find therein of some grander purpose? With what degree of confidence should we guess the style and character of the crumbled edifice, or even confirm the story that once it stood erect for the admiration of mankind? Problems roughly analogous to this are not unknown to the history of the arts. There have been poets, like Chatterton or Charles Sorley, whose early death has left us to wonder what they might have been; painters, like Leonardo da Vinci, of whose acknowledged masterpieces one, at least, has perished; or perhaps the best example is furnished by a musician who brought forth his best wine only at the end of the feast. For who could have guessed, after hearing *La Traviata*, or even *Aïda*, that *Otello* and *Falstaff* were yet to come? These are but rough illustrations, offering no exact parallel to the case of Dante, but they will serve to remind

us of the difficulty of gauging an artist's whole capacity by the evidence of some part of his achievement. In the great majority of instances, too, we have no other means at our disposal : the sole testimony to the artist's powers, and to his higher aspirations, is contained in his extant works. There is, however, one further possibility. Now and again the creator of works of art has left behind him some theoretical dissertation, dealing either with the general nature of the art he has practised or, better still, with his personal ideals. The *Ars Poetica* of Horace is a famous example, and many similar compositions could be named. And yet at this point we seem only to encounter a fresh difficulty. For while the attempt of any great poet or painter to describe the secrets of his craft, or the range of his own ambition, cannot fail to be interesting, the gravest scepticism is often felt about his ability to fulfil his purpose. I have heard it said, with some plausibility, that the only artist who ever succeeded in this kind of theoretical exposition was Sir Joshua Reynolds in his admirable *Discourses*, and doubtless even that example might be as readily disputed to-day as it was in the time of Reynolds himself by Hogarth and his friends. Into so large a question as the qualification of artists to explain the nature of art I must not digress, but for touching upon it there is this plain and sufficient excuse, that discussion of the nature and aims of poetry was one of the principal occupations of Dante's life. Without entering at present into more exact particulars, it is enough to say that three of his books, the *Vita Nuova*, the *Convivio*, and the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* are all of them, either wholly or to a large extent, concerned with this same topic. Moreover, Dante himself is by no means beyond the reach of that general scepticism about the competence of artists to reveal the essence of their art. On the contrary, we shall find presently that some of his statements are likely to send a shudder down the spine of any modern æsthete who happens to count a spine among his possessions, so that even the author of the *Divine Comedy* might earn the opprobrious name of Philistine.

These controversial utterances will not, however, be more than a small part of our subject. The main business is to search the minor works for any grains of evidence they may afford of

the prospective composition of the masterpiece, or even of the bare possibility that Dante might claim some day to be saluted as an equal by Homer and his august companions. Now the first fact to be remarked, and not the least curious, is that the only explicit hint—if a hint can be explicit—of a future work on the scale of the *Commedia* is to be found in the earliest of Dante's important books, the *Vita Nuova*. In the last section (XLIII) of that strange and enigmatic romance he tells us how there appeared to him a wonderful vision, in which, he says, ' I saw things which made me decide to speak no more of this blessed lady so long as I could not treat of her more worthily ' ; to which he adds that, if life is given him, he hopes at last to say of her that which never yet was said of any woman. Before making any comment on this passage, I will turn to another, superficially more definite, yet far more puzzling. In the first *Canzone* of the *Vita Nuova* (xix. 42-47) Dante imagines the angels declaring to God that heaven itself lacks something until Beatrice comes to adorn it ; to which God replies, bidding them be patient, for the sake of one on earth who still awaits her loss,

> e che dirà nell 'Inferno, O malnati,
> io vidi la speranza de'beati.

What, then, can be made of these cryptic allusions ? The *Vita Nuova*, I have sometimes thought, offers a perfect field for the exercise of destructive ' higher criticism.' The looseness of its texture is obvious ; it ends abruptly with the account of the vision ; it would be easy to suggest (and *may* even be true) that the final section was a later addition to a work originally left incomplete ; while, if any work by Dante could have been subjected to the same ferocious scrutiny as the canon of Scripture, I do not doubt that the last seventeen lines of the *Vita Nuova* would have gone the way of the last twelve verses of the Gospel according to St. Mark. Despite these temptations to ingenuity, I do not propose to argue either that the vision is a dubious appendix of unknown date or that those two lines in the *Canzone* are a forged interpolation. Let us accept both passages as authentic and inspect their substance. First of all, it may be just worth while to remark that, if it was indeed the first thought of some greater enterprise that brought the *Vita Nuova* to its sudden

end, this was only an anticipation of the fate which afterwards overtook the *Convivio* and the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*. Of the first of these, only four books out of the projected fifteen were accomplished, of the second, something less than two out of four. In the wandering years of the exile there were, of course, many other obstacles and interruptions, but it is difficult to resist the impression that the chief reason why neither of those important works arrived at its designed conclusion was that the claim of their author's supreme business in life became even more imperative as the years went by. So far, then, as the analogy has any force, the termination of the rather rambling course of the *Vita Nuova* by the sudden glimpse of a sublimer theme is probable enough. At the same time, it must be allowed that the positive information supplied by the story of the vision amounts almost to nothing. What manner of enduring monument to the celestial lady he had it in mind to erect no one could possibly gather from those few brief sentences. More than this, it is highly improbable that even the outline of the *Commedia* was disclosed in a single moment to Dante himself. The prosaic suggestion that for a time he may even have contemplated nothing more inspiring than the *Convivio* is unpalatable, but at least we are safe in concluding that no reader, then or now, could discern in this last section of the *Vita Nuova* even the dimmest picture of Dante's eventual vision of 'the state of souls after death.'

But what of those two perplexing lines in the first *Canzone*? Here we are obliged to take a more drastic line. The suggestion that there is any reference here to Dante's intention of writing the *Inferno* is simply incredible. In the first place, we have the fact that the *Canzone* was composed in 1289. It comes quite early in the *Vita Nuova*, some time before the death of Beatrice, and longer still before the vision which, on the poet's own authority, we are entitled to regard as the earliest revelation of what might some day come to pass. It would therefore be most inartistic, surely, to introduce a definite allusion to anything like the scheme of the *Inferno*, as though it had been formed some years before the decisive moment of inspiration. And then again, if we remember that the *Vita Nuova* was completed ten, twelve, or (less probably) almost twenty years before any part of

the *Commedia* was known, what on earth could Dante's readers have made of this mysterious prophecy (if prophecy it was) which is placed in the mouth of the Almighty? So long as we persist in connecting the disputed lines with the project of the *Inferno*, no sufficient answer can be given; but though I have not space here to offer a wholly different, and far more reasonable, interpretation, with which Professor Foligno kindly furnished me, I shall venture to assert dogmatically that in the first *Canzone* there is no reference whatever to the design of the *Commedia*.

So much, then, for these passages in the *Vita Nuova*. To examine them with some care was necessary, because they are, it seems, the only possible places in Dante's lesser works in which any allusion to the *Commedia* can be detected. It may occur to you, however, that I am forgetting the famous letter to Can Grande. I have not forgotten it, but that letter was sent with certain cantos of the *Paradiso*, and was avowedly in the nature of a preface. Hence if we are to tolerate for the moment my fantastic suggestion that the *Commedia* is lost, I must beg leave to lose the preface along with it. But there is also another kind of objection to be considered. Is there any good reason, we may ask, for supposing that Dante would have been likely to mention in advance his intention of producing the *Commedia*, or that, even if he mentioned it, he would have described its character? Very natural and very excellent reasons, indeed, could be given for his silence, nor do I wish for a moment to imply that either Dante or any other great artist is in the habit of advertising his masterpieces before they appear. Yet in Dante's case there is something to be said on the other side. To begin with, there is the fact, already mentioned, that he was constantly occupied with discussing the nature of poetry and with enlarging on the possibilities of its composition in the vernacular. Moreover, he does not hesitate to mention himself and the nature of his contribution to the art. As it happens, he has given us in *Convivio*, i. 2 a short discourse upon the propriety or impropriety of mentioning oneself. Some of the points in that passage are not, perhaps, very relevant, but his argument does at least show that autobiographical reference is sometimes legitimate, and there is abundant evidence, especially in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, that he is prepared to

illustrate the art of poetry from his own practice, and even (as in *De V. E.*, ii. 71) to quote one of his own *Canzoni* as an example to be studied. Finally, there are several places in which he definitely refers to a work which he intends to write or to subjects of which he proposes to treat at a later stage. Thus in *Convivio*, i. 5, 66, he records his intention of writing a book *Di Volgare Eloquenza*, while more than once in that treatise, when it was actually written, he names in one of the earlier books (e.g. *De V. E.*, ii. 8, 83) the topics reserved for a later. While, therefore, I carefully refrain from suggesting that we ought to be *surprised* at Dante's silence it is only fair to say that, had he thought fit to speak any word of his projected work, this would have been consistent with his practice.

Another kind of evidence, if such it can be called, it might be unwise entirely to neglect. Boccaccio has that queer story of the discovery at Florence, by Dante's wife, of the first seven cantos of the *Inferno*, which she sent forthwith to the Marquis Malaspina, urging him to bid Dante complete the poem. Again, in an undated letter, we hear of a monk who fell in with Dante somewhere in the mountains and was entrusted by him with the first canticle of the *Commedia*. Finally, there is in Boccaccio yet another story, of how, eight months after Dante's death, it was revealed in a dream to his son Jacopo that the last thirteen cantos of the *Paradiso* had been hidden in a little niche in a wall. As sober history, none of these tales will bear much scrutiny, but perhaps the very fact of their invention, and their cumulative effect, may authorise the suspicion that there was a certain tinge of mystery about the composition of this astonishing poem. Dante himself may have been reluctant to talk of so strange a venture. For all his sublime confidence in his own genius, he may well have hesitated a little before exhibiting his finest treasure in the rather pitiless market of human valuation. Yet all this is pure conjecture. What exactly his personal feeling was we do not know. In the end we can only return to the solid fact that in the *Vita Nuova* we have at least one important chapter relating to the scope and character of vernacular poetry, in the *Convivio* a running commentary on a series of poems, together with much theoretical discussion, and lastly, in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*,

a formal and technical treatise on the traditions, subj ects, rules and proper ideals of poetry, as conceived by Dante and some few others. With this wealth of information at our disposal, it is not unreasonable to seek some clue to the structure, the quality, or at least the general nature of the *Divine Comedy*. I do not say that our search will be vain, but I do say, and shall now attempt to show more fully, that, whereas from Dante's explicit statements about the forms of vernacular poetry examined by him, not one scrap of information about the *Commedia* can be extracted, it still is possible, by following another route, to advance a certain distance towards an understanding of the deep and troubled mind which found in the heavenly vision its consolation for the bitterness of earthly life.

The first step is to return to that same last section of the *Vita Nuova*, for consideration of two lines hitherto passed over. To reach the point at which I shall be able to speak of this lady more worthily, says Dante, *studio quanto posso*, I am studying with all my might. In these few but notable words Dante reminds us of a simple truth, all too easily forgotten, that the artist, no matter what fire of genius may burn within him, will never reach the summit of his own capacity without hard work. Were it necessary to chose between two famous commonplaces, that 'the poet is born, not made,' and that 'genius is an infinite capacity for taking pains,' there is little doubt that Dante would prefer the second. Not that he disparages the gift of Nature, but of those who trust to mere untutored talent he is frankly contemptuous. Thus in *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, ii. 4, 68-82, he demands three qualifications in those whom Virgil had called 'the beloved of God': without *strenuitas ingenii*, without *artis assiduitas*, without *scientiarum habitus*, no man can aspire to this exalted destiny. 'And therefore,' he adds, 'let the folly be confessed of those who, innocent of art and science, trusting to their native wit (*ingenium*) alone, break forth into singing of the loftiest things in the loftiest style. Let them desist from such presumption, and if by their nature or their sloth they are geese, let them not imitate the eagle that seeks the stars.' No less interesting is a passage in *Convivio*, ii. 13 (26-29), where he is speaking of his first difficulties in passing through the gate of philosophy. In

this he was helped, he says, partly by the *arte di grammatica*, partly by *un poco di mio ingegno ;* and by means of this *ingegno*, he continues, ' I used already to see many things *quasi come sognando*, like one in a dream, as may be perceived in the *Vita Nuova*.' So, too, in *Convivio*, iii. 12 (13 . . . ), when commenting on the first line of his own *Canzone*, *Amor che nella mente mi ragiona*, he explains that *studio*, in one of its senses, is equivalent to *Amore*, so that by this love or study there were constantly formed in his mind *nuove e altissime considerazioni*, high meditations upon Philosophy, the lady who now for a time is the object of his love. The transformation of youthful dreams into open vision is what he seeks in manhood, and his guiding maxim is given in the words that we find in *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, ii. 8, 3-4, *cuiuslibet operis cognitio praecedere debet operationem*, a secular version, we might almost say, of the Psalmist's utterance, ' except the Lord build the house, their labour is but lost that build it.'

What course of arduous study, then, did Dante resolve to pursue ? Only by answering this question shall we acquire some kind of insight into the creation of the *Commedia* and its manifold riches. Where to begin our researches is not, I think, difficult to decide. As we all know, the most decisive moment, perhaps, in the whole history of European literature was Dante's choice of the vulgar tongue as the medium of his highest expression. Hence the first and, in a true sense, the most fundamental of the many problems that belong to the study of his works is presented in the distinction between what *we* should call ' Italian ' and the learned Latin, commonly known in Dante's day as *la grammatica*. Nor is it by any means easy for a modern Englishman to view the antithesis of these two languages in the way that reveals its true significance. To us it is natural to think of ' Latin ' and ' Italian ' as two foreign tongues, one ancient, perhaps also mediæval, the other predominantly modern. We assume, of course, that the younger is descended, legitimately or illegitimately, from the elder, but for the most part, I suppose, we are apt to think of ' Latin ' as a dead language which we fail to learn at school, and of ' Italian ' as a living jargon, of which we master enough, perhaps, to pacify extortionate cabmen and procure ourselves something to eat. Not such was Dante's situation. It is

not merely that he differed, as was only natural, from any *forestiere*, but also, I suspect, his view of the situation was not that of any modern native of Italy. If I may dip for a moment (without the excuse authorised by Dante !) into autobiography, I remember on my first visit to Florence making friends with an Italian schoolboy, who was living in the house where I lodged. The friendship was partly, I hope, inspired by the young gentleman's merits, but partly, I fear, by the thought that he might assist my own blundering attempts to converse in his proper tongue. Among other things, I used to help him with his Latin lessons, and one day, in view of some glaring instances, I suggested that his understanding of Latin words ought to be made easier by his acquaintance with Italian. But this, to my great surprise, he warmly denied. His own dialect (and I may add that he was wont to use all the Florentine mannerisms) struck him almost as an obstacle, or certainly as no kind of help. That this one boy was typical of his country I have no right to assert, but it is evident that even in Italy the position must have been greatly changed by the passage of six hundred years. The very first fact we need to grasp is that, for Dante, the *grammatica* and the *volgare* were alternative forms of the *same* language, and both of them very much alive. To begin with the last part of this assertion, the Latin written by educated men of Dante's time was substantially the same language that had been written continuously in Italy from time immemorial. That owing to the general decline of education it had often been barbarously mishandled is perfectly true, but by Dante's lifetime the worst corruption was past. Latin could now be written with the elegance of John of Salisbury or with the matchless lucidity of Thomas Aquinas. The most meticulous rules for rhythm and cadence had been formulated, and even official documents, like those of the Papal Court, were phrased in a fashion that goes back, not merely to the age of Cicero, but to the Greek rhetoricians who first regulated the art of prose. It cannot be said that the result was Ciceronian, but what of that ? Do we in the twentieth century write the English of Hooker, of Sir Thomas Browne, or even of Dr. Johnson ? I often wish we could ! The very reason, in fact, for calling the *grammatica* a living language is that it had developed freely within the wide

limits of its radical and organic structure. If anything has made it a 'dead' language, it is, paradoxically, the attempt of Petrarch and his successors to revive the Augustan style. For it is, in truth, a not uncommon feature of 'revivals' that they bestow the *coup de grâce* on what was not hitherto a corpse.

You will object, perhaps, that this grammatical Latin was not spoken, and therefore not alive. To this I must reply by asking whether it ever was, at any time you please to name, the common parlance of daily life? My question could not, indeed, be answered without digressing far beyond the bounds of our present subject, but I am at least prepared to assert with confidence that, as Dante viewed the matter, the language which he called the *grammatica* never had been, nor ever was intended to be, the language in which live men and women bargained in the market-place, or quarrelled, or made love. He did not believe that *all* peoples had invented a special language for literature, though he attributes something of the kind to the Greeks. But whether in Italy or elsewhere, any such language he took to be a deliberate invention, contrasted with the vernacular as art is contrasted with mere use and wont (*Conv.* i. 5, 104). So, again, he does not think of the colloquial Italian as something descended by degeneration from Latin in its 'classical' form, as though that kind of Latin had once been spoken as well as written. If the men of a thousand years ago were to be born again, they would think, he says, that their own cities had now been occupied by strangers (*Conv.* i. 5, 61), but that is not because in their own day they talked a literary Latin now corrupted, but because they used a *volgare* which has been transformed by the mutability of custom. Moved by these considerations, says Dante, the 'inventors of the grammatical faculty' determined to stabilise the *grammatica*, which has an unalterable identity in every time and place and commands the assent of many peoples. *Adinvenerunt ergo illam*, they *invented* it, lest through the arbitrary fluctuations of common speech we should lose touch with the past (cf. *De V. E.*, i. 9, 93-107).

At this point we come upon a question which it is impossible to examine here with as much attention as it deserves. I refer to Dante's actual use of the term 'Latin,' the various shades of

meaning which *Latinus* and *Latino* assume in his writings. To assert that he makes 'Latin' simply equivalent to 'Italian' would, of course, be most inaccurate. If we look, for instance, at three consecutive chapters of the *Convivio* (*Conv.* i. 9-11), we shall find, not only *Volgare*, but also *l'Italica loquela* and *lo parlare Italico* definitely opposed to *Latino*. On any view of the matter it was obvious, indeed, that the 'Latin' of literature had a pre-eminent claim to the title. Linguistically, culturally, even politically, the range of Latinity was far wider than the confines of Italy, and of all this Dante was well aware. Nevertheless, it is equally clear that in many places (though I must not stay to present the evidence) he does use 'Latin' precisely in the sense of 'Italian,' and it is certain, too, that this is no mere affectation. Incidentally, one further point may be remarked, that special emphasis is laid on the *Italian* character when Dante is upholding (as in *Conv.* i. 10 and 11), the claims of his own mother tongue against those of France or other countries. But since it appears that, in this and other respects, his views were either modified by time or differently expressed on different occasions, it is advisable now to turn to the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, where his most considered and most scientific doctrines are likely to be found.

From the evidence of Dante's own words in *Convivio*, i. 5 (66-69), we should naturally infer that the first part at least of the *Convivio* was earlier than the book *Di Volgare Eloquenza*, which he talks of writing in the future. And though there still remains some difficulty about the chronology, it is interesting to note that only in the treatise on language did he openly declare that the vulgar tongue was in its very nature superior to the *grammatica*. In the opening chapter of the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* he distinguishes the two languages, and then adds immediately that, of these two, *nobilior est vulgaris*, both because it is 'natural,' while the *grammatica* is 'artificial,' and for some other reasons. On the other hand, if we turn back to *Convivio*, i. 5, we find him saying that a Latin commentary on poems written in the *volgare* would not be 'subject' but 'sovereign,' *per nobiltà e per virtù e per bellezza*. The Latin, he proceeds, has more 'nobility' because, in contrast with the *volgare*, it is perpetual and incorruptible (*Conv.* i. 5, 45-50); and yet it is precisely this same superior

' nobility ' that in his other book he assigns to the *volgare*. But though, on the face of it, we have here a flat contradiction, it would be unwise to press the point too far, or to imagine that Dante suffered a complete revolution of heart and mind. The apology for the *volgare* in the *Convivio* may strike one as a little over elaborate, as though, in view of a long established convention, Dante felt obliged to speak modestly of the colloquial tongue which already he believed to be second to none. Nevertheless, it remains a striking fact that the undisguised preference of the *volgare* appears in a work written in the *grammatica*, and therefore addressed to the *letterati*, so that the learned world is actually defied in its own language and on its own ground.

It must not be supposed, however, that, when once Dante had made this decisive choice, his difficulties were at an end. On the contrary, it only became all the more true that he had now to find or to make a language suitable to the demands of his literary ambition. Even nowadays, as we know, a man may be fluent enough colloquially, and yet have but small ability to write his own language. In Dante's age that particular difficulty was enormously greater and, as we shall see shortly, there were various other complications. It would be no exaggeration, probably, to say that many people of Dante's time would have found it harder to write a book in the *volgare* than in the scholarly Latin (cf. Comparetti, *Eng. Trans.*, p. 193) ; nor, perhaps, do we realise at first that, as a literary experiment, a prose work like the *Convivio* was an adventure only less novel than the *Commedia* itself. But it was not a mere question of ability to write. The choice of the language in which your pen was to be exercised had still to be made. For, as Dante explains so clearly, an Italian had, first of all, to face the rival claims of other *volgari* besides his own, and secondly, he was confronted with some dozens of provincial or municipal dialects, no one of which, perhaps, he would find worthy of esteem. Here and there you may find an Englishman capable of composing in a foreign language ; we have also a few poems in dialect, like those of the Dorsetshire William Barnes ; and assuredly we have our local variations of speech. It is rumoured that even in Lancashire there is a special intonation, while as for the celebrated ' Oxford accent,' I am personally

prepared to maintain that at least twenty-five varieties of it are to be found within Oxford itself. Nevertheless, when the spirit moves us to embark on the perilous sea of literature, we do not waver between English and French or German, nor do we ransack the counties north and south to find a patois that suits our taste. Dante, on the other hand, was surrounded, not only by grammarians who sniffed at anything outside the educated Latin, but by Italians who wrote poetry in Old French or Provençal, or even used two or three different languages in alternating lines.

In his masterly survey of the problem, Dante goes back to a remote and somewhat mythical past. We need not linger with him under the shadow of the tower of Babel, nor would it be reasonable to expect him to know much about the earlier phases in the differentiation of human languages. Let us pass to the stage at which he describes the partition of the regions within his ken and the fixing of the idiomatic terms by which he denotes the three principal *volgari* of his day. These he commonly distinguishes by their several methods of saying 'yes' (*oc*, *oil* and *sì*), but he also associates them with three groups of peoples, *Hispani*, *Franci*, *Latini*, where the *Latini*, of course, are the Italians, while the *Hispani* loosely designate the speakers of Provençal (*De V. E.*, i. 8, 40). To choose between these three tongues was by no means as easy as it sounds. The *volgare* might be 'natural' as compared with the 'artificial' *grammatica*, but on all poetry of that time the stamp of artifice was patent, and the more the technique of any one of them had been developed, the more tempting it was to adopt it as a medium, even if this involved the neglect of one's native tongue. And here again there is a marked difference of tone between *Convivio* i. and the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*. In the former work the 'Italian rascals' (*malvagi uomini d'Italia*) who prefer another *volgare* to their own are denounced with hot indignation. No less than 'five abominable causes' of their misbehaviour are alleged, and on each of these Dante proceeds to enlarge (*Conv.* i. 11). Very different, however, is the discussion of the same point in *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, i. 10. Calmly and critically, Dante weighs the claims of each. The French have excelled in prose history and romance; the Provençal poets were the first to display the

polished charm of their language; yet the 'Latins,' i.e. the Italians, can boast two privileges. Some of them, notably Cino of Pistoia 'and his friend' (for thus does Dante refer to himself), have shown a more sweet and subtle familiarity with their domestic tongue, and again, as he adds significantly, that tongue leans most closely upon the *grammatica*, and this is the weightiest argument of all (*De V. E.*, i. 10, 11-34). This same argument he mentions earlier in the chapter, where he observes that those who stabilised (*positores*) the *grammatica* 'accepted' the word *sic*, closely akin to *sì*, as the 'adverb of affirmation,' which seems to give the 'Latins' (Italians) a certain priority of claim.

Dante, then, can discuss temperately and without heat the special qualifications of these competing *volgari*, and in the same quiet tone he remarks in a later chapter (*De V. E.*, i. 15, 9-14) that the famous Sordello, both in poetry and in his everyday speech, *patrium vulgare deseruit*. This he evidently regrets, but there is no denunciation, and it will be remembered (if I may trespass for a moment on the *Commedia*) that, when Sordello is encountered in the *Purgatorio* (vi. 58 . . . ), he is treated with marked respect. But though Dante could thus weigh the problem with a balanced mind, his preference of a *volgare* belonging to Italy could never be in doubt. There remained, however, this second and still more formidable question, whether any one of the numerous dialects, which flourished within every province of Italy, sometimes even within the same town, was a fit instrument for the expression of the highest style of poetry. We cannot now accompany Dante on his linguistic pilgrimage through every quarter of Italy, with a further excursion to Sicily across the straits. One after another he inspects the local products, some with cool politeness, others with ridicule and disdain, and the upshot is that he rejects them all. There was nothing for it, in fact, but to *make* the requisite language, not indeed by wanton invention, but by selection and purification, by an eclecticism, based undoubtedly on what had been done already by the best authors, yet deliberate enough to suggest that, while the *volgare*, by comparison with the *grammatica*, may be called *naturalis*, there must yet be a marked element of artifice in any literary language that is to prevail over inferior rivals.

The *volgare illustre* which Dante is fain to discover and perpetuate is adorned by him with many epithets. He calls it *urbanum, cardinale, aulicum, curiale.* He makes it unfeignedly aristocratic, a language fit for the court, of which Italy, he protests, has still the spirit, though not the bodily substance. In a word, it is, as we should say, the ' King's English ' that he would set upon the throne. Write ' emperor ' for ' king ' ; forget the mediæval emperor's awkward habit of being a German ; set firmly on the hills of Rome that undivided monarchy of which Dante dreamed ; and then you will have the illustrious company for which this no less illustrious language is designed. Yet in the end, perhaps, no one of these superlatives strikes so deep into the poet's meaning as his final summary, when he says that this language, with all its princely trappings, is called *Latinum vulgare*, a name which, I believe, we can render best in English by its most literal equivalent, the ' vulgar Latin.' *Latin* it is, and still the Latin of the common people, though arrayed in its best clothes, and it is just here that the modern distinction between ' Latin ' and ' Italian ' would most profoundly misrepresent the facts. The eventual choice before Dante was between two forms of Latin, the one reserved for schools and scholars, the other bandied to and fro by men, women and children in the lively commerce of daily life. He cast his vote for the people, and thus set poetry upon its proper throne.

In due course we shall have to ask how far this language, discovered after much tribulation, illuminates for us the quality of the masterpiece which, on my fanciful hypothesis, has somehow vanished. The answer, perhaps, will prove surprising, but first I must turn to a new branch of the enquiry, which follows immediately upon the rejection of the *grammatica* in favour of its less dignified rival. The next fact that we need to grasp is one that may easily be overlooked if we think of literature entirely in the modern way. The difference between the learned and the vulgar tongue was no mere question of vocabulary and grammatical forms. It carried with it a like duality of literary traditions, between which the gulf was both wide and deep. Nor was the fundamental principle of this division confined to its most conspicuous example. The whole mediæval outlook upon litera-

ture was governed by the association of certain kinds of literary form with certain kinds of material or subject. Exactly to explain what that means is impossible in a single sentence, but as a clear illustration of the point we may glance at the one important kind of mediæval verse which, as it happens, Dante never found occasion to discuss. You will remember that in the *Commedia* he quotes a few words from the famous hymns *Vexilla Regis* and *Te lucis ante terminum*, but nowhere has he a word to say about this poetry which, by abandoning quantity and classical metres for rhyme and accent, had evoked a new genius from the Latin language. Reasons for his silence are not hard to find, but we cannot help wondering whether he had discovered, for instance, that Thomas Aquinas, whom he venerated only less than Aristotle, had united with philosophical insight a true gift of poesy. Be this as it may, the significant point is the intimate alliance between that type of verse and the mystical expression of Christian faith and worship. There was also, it is true, a considerable output of students' songs, parodies, and other light entertainment in the same outward shape, but this does not falsify the judgment that any poet who desired to excel in that style would take religion as his theme, or that, conversely, religious sentiment in poetry would seek that special form. Hexameters and other ancient metres were often used by Christian writers, but the result was as remote in tone from *O quanta qualia* or the *Dies irae* as Paganism itself from the faith of the Church. It was in this way, and in the highest degree, that the traditions of the *grammatica* and of the vernacular fell asunder ; but first of all I wish to exhibit the force of the principle within the province of the *volgare illustre* which Dante proposed for admiration.

Having secured his language, he proceeds to ask whether it is proper for all writers of verse to use it on all occasions, and for every theme. Far from it. That opinion, he says, sounds plausible, but in fact it is *falsissimum* (*De V. E.*, ii. 1, 32). As well might a plebian clothe himself in royal purple, or beauty consort with the beast. Not only must the authors be men of genius and knowledge, but even the most excellent poets will not always employ the finest grade of language. The words and the *sententia* must mingle harmoniously, and only the best subjects,

the noblest 'conceptions,' are worthy of the noblest tongue (*De V. E.*, i. 1 and 2 *passim*). Here again, too, we learn that his outlook had grown wider since his early days. In *Vita Nuova*, xxv., where he interrupts the narrative to discourse on the nature of poetry, he declares that the first of the 'vulgar' poets, some 150 years ago, was moved to his vernacular effort by the inability of his mistress to cope with Latin verse. Whether this was a quaint conceit of Dante's own, or whether, in the language sacred to policemen, he was 'acting upon information received,' I do not know. But in an age when my own sex is much downtrodden, I like to cherish the thought that modern literature, including the *Divine Comedy*, may owe its origin to the fact that mediæval ladies were less well educated than their modern successors. The important thing, however, is the moral that Dante finds in the tale. This, he says, is the answer to those who rhyme about any but amorous material, for it was to speak of love that this manner of speech was first invented (*V. N.*, xxv. 43-51).

By the time of the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, however, he has enlarged this narrow tradition. Pursuing his quest of the proper subjects for treatment, he derives from the threefold spirit of man (vegetable, animal, and rational) his three vital needs, *salus*, *venus*, and *virtus*, and these, again, he translates into *armorum probitas*, *amoris accensio*, and *directio voluntatis*. Of the three themes thus indicated, Bertram of Bornio has sung of arms in Provençal, but no Italian has yet touched it; Cino of Pistoia (with many others) has celebrated love; while 'his friend' (Dante himself, in fact) has preferred *rectitudo*, the praise of virtue; for thus it is, after the *Vita Nuova* had given way to the style of the *Convivio*, that Dante characterises his own performance. 'The sweet rhymes of love that he was wont to seek in his thoughts' (*Conv. Canz.*, iii.) he has put away for a time, to hymn the praises of wisdom and virtue. This enumeration of appropriate subjects is amplified a little later (*De V. E.*, ii. 4, 35-49) by a distinction between the tragic, the comic, and the elegiac style. In Dante's usage of the terms 'tragedy' and 'comedy,' there is, as all his readers know, no special reference to drama. Anything in the 'grand style' is 'tragic,' and Virgil is the greatest of Latin tragedians, though he never wrote a play. Hence, if we are to

sing of things that sound the tragic note, says Dante, we must use the *volgare illustre ;* for the comic theme we shall be satisfied with the ' mediocre ' ; for the ' elegiac ' there remains the ' humble,' the lowest grade of common speech.

Closely connected with these discriminations is Dante's review and analysis of the various forms of composition which the vernacular poetry has fashioned. Setting aside certain ' irregular and illegitimate modes ' (*V. E.*, ii. 3, 3-11), he confines his attention to sonnets, ballads, and *canzoni*, the three varieties, in fact, that he had used in the *Vita Nuova*. Two of these, however, the sonnet and the ballad, he reserves for the unwritten fourth book, where he intended to treat of the *vulgare mediocre* (*V. E.*, ii. 4, 8-13). Only the *cantio* or *canzone* is worthy of the ' illustrious ' language, and Dante is at great pains to describe both the grounds of its superiority and the elaborate technique of its structure. Many of the more subtle points do not concern us, but his eulogy culminates with the remarkable statement that in the *canzone* is contained and exhibited the *whole* art of poetic song, or, as he actually puts it, ' of singing poetically ' (*V. E.*, ii. 3, 53-57). It follows that whatever is lofty and ' tragic ' will belong to this form alone ; so that, when he arrives at an actual definition of the *cantio*, the words *tragica coniugatio* are part of the formula (*V. E.* ii. 8, 71).

One further point in its character must not be overlooked. When Dante speaks, as so often he does, of ' singing ' as the function of the poet, it is no idle word that he employs. The accompaniment of music, the harmonious blending of voice and verse, belongs to the essence of this kind of composition. The *cantio*, he says, is ' the very act or passion of singing, even as *lectio* is the act or passion of reading ' (*V. E.* ii. 8, 12-15). The *cantio* must not, indeed, be confused with the actual melody (*modulatio*), but he who composes on the trumpet, the organ or the harp, may call his work a *cantio* whenever his music is duly married to the poet's words. Even while we have had the misfortune to lose the *Commedia*, we shall not quite forget that meeting in Purgatory, when Casella tunefully murmurs the opening words of Dante's own *canzone*, *Amor che nella mente mi ragiona*. What would we not give for that lost melody ? Indeed I count

it almost a slur on the musical profession that no one has yet forged a suitable air and signed it with Casella's name.

Of the remaining topics in this part of Dante's treatise, his observations on various sorts of words (*vocabula*), and his promise to examine the principles of rhyme in a later book, need only be mentioned. Rather more important for our purpose is his estimate of different *carmina*, which means, not songs in its ordinary Latin sense, but the kinds of metre, so far as they are determined by the number of syllables in each line. Here he expresses a strong preference for the hendecasyllable, the longest line of which he finds any examples in the modern poets. Here, too, we find yet another link with 'tragedy,' for whenever we try to write poetry in the tragic style, says Dante, the hendecasyllable claims the privilege, both because it is woven best into the texture of a poem, and because even the constant repetition of it does not sound unduly monotonous (*V. E.*, ii. 10-19).

And now let us pause for a moment, after this rough survey of a considerable part of Dante's theory, to ask what inferences we should be likely to draw from it concerning a poem reputed to express the final effort of his genius. He has found and purified a language, named the themes most worthy to be clothed in it, selected and analysed the *canzone*, defined the part of music, counted the very syllables in the lines of the weightiest metre, and everywhere on the substance of the composition thus foreshadowed has engraved the deep seal of 'tragedy.' In what conjecture, then, shall we indulge? With what boldness shall we plot the ghostly outline of this palace built, as we might suppose, to welcome imperial Cæsars, if at last they should restore their court to Rome? As I read the evidence thus far collected, we might fairly imagine some grand series of *canzoni*, written in the choicest words of the *volgare illustre*, discoursing with much gravity upon virtue and rectitude; the whole being set to solemn music by Casella or some other notable composer. Or should some wanton critic object that rumour had always given the name of 'comedy' to the lost masterpiece, this, surely, we should reject as idle gossip; for what can be more manifest on Dante's pages than the supremacy of the tragic style? In a word, every one of the most plausible inferences would be lamentably and hopelessly

wrong. The poem is a comedy ; it is not written in the *volgare illustre*, but often in language that is ' mediocre ' or even ' humble ' (*Ep.*, x. 212) ; assuredly it is neither a *canzone* nor apt for music ; and though it is, indeed, hendecasyllabic from beginning to end, the mere preference of eleven syllables to seven or five, which Dante has expressed, gives not so much as the faintest hint of the *terza rima* which the poet was to handle with such marvellous skill. Yet at the very time when the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* was broken off, somewhere about the year 1305 or 1306, it is likely enough that a large part at least of the *Inferno* was already written down. Some scholars, it is true, have argued that none of the *Commedia* was composed before 1313, but, even if their arguments were more convincing, it would be still true that fourteen years or so had passed since the vision which first inspired the great adventure ; and to believe that in all this period of his middle life Dante had got no further on his way than the perfect *canzone* would carry him is almost impossible. The only sane conclusion, I feel, is that his profound study of the whole vernacular tradition had convinced him that nothing in it could serve his purpose. The *volgare*, indeed, ' illustrious ' or otherwise, was to be his instrument, but no orthodox rules, no fine restriction of themes, no meticulous choice of dainty words, could fetter the imagination of one who was about to descend into the nethermost hell, to climb the delectable mountain, and thereafter to ascend the path of the stars.

Are we, then, finally baffled ? Or is there any other way of approach to Dante's secret, any clue that we have overlooked ? That the *Commedia* cannot be explained by anything outside itself is perfectly true, but we may at least come a little nearer to understanding the progress of its author's mind and art if we turn now to a question which greatly exercised him, about the *meaning* of poetry. From the very first it is evident that one of Dante's most urgent problems was to find or make an audience for his poems. The *letterati*, the mere professionals, who stuck to the *grammatica* and sold their knowledge of it to the highest bidders, he was resolved to ignore. Besides these, he had his own circle of poetical friends, whose opinion he certainly valued. When he addressed a sonnet to the *famosi trovatori* of his time,

he could count on the attention and friendly response (*V. N.*, iii. 66-76) of these *fedeli d'Amore*, the faithful vassals of Love. Yet even these were too sophisticated for his larger ambition. He desired to reach, not, perhaps, a *popular* audience, not that impalpable ' man in the street ' who plays so large a part in our modern affairs, but gallant knights and noble ladies, whom the malice of degenerate fashion had robbed of literature and all its joys (*Conv.*, i. 9, 29 . . . ). Most of us, I imagine, when first we read the *Vita Nuova*, are somewhat puzzled by Dante's practice of offering an analysis of the sonnets and other poems. No modern poet, we flatter ourselves, would suspect his readers of standing in need of such elementary instruction. But when we arrive at that twenty-fifth section which we have visited already more than once, a clearer light is thrown on the situation. It now appears that Dante finds it necessary to explain the very nature of the ' poetic licence ' which is denied to prose ; how it is, for instance, that Love can be treated as a person and a ' substance,' and how inanimate things can be addressed as though they had sense and reason. To this end, he cites examples from the ancient poets, and claims for those who rhyme in the vulgar tongue the same privilege that Virgil and Lucan, Ovid and Horace, have enjoyed. Once more the modern reader may be disposed to smile at such naïve simplicity, but nothing can reveal more plainly the magnitude of Dante's task than the bare fact that he found it expedient thus to display the rudiments of the poet's art. Even more significant for our present enquiry are the closing lines of the same section, where he insists that the figure and colour of poetic speech are no excuse for nonsense. Here, too, we come upon one of those pronouncements which shake the faith of many critics in the ability of artists to expound the nature of art. For, says Dante, it would be a grave scandal if one who had clothed his rhymes in a garment of metaphor and rhetorical colour should refuse, upon demand, to strip off these disguises and declare the ' true meaning ' of his words. That kind of foolish rhyming, he adds, is not unknown, but he and his friends will have none of it. This strange suggestion that the ' meaning ' of poetry can be discovered by removing all its airs and graces is like a wandering echo of Socrates, who observes with deep irony (in Plato's

*Apology*) that, when the poets were cross-questioned about the *subjects* of their rhapsodical flights, it seemed that any of the by-standers could have given a better account of the facts (cp. also Plato, *Rep.*, x. 601-602). Dante, however, is quite impenitent. Again in the *Convivio*, when he is upholding the power of the vernacular to express high thoughts in *prose*, he suggests that rhyme, metre and the other 'accidental' ornaments of poetry are like the clothes of a fine lady, which must be removed (or at least discounted) before we can judge of her natural charms (*Conv.*, i. 10, 80-96).

To plunge into the philosophy of æsthetics is not my business, but assuredly we shall fail to grasp Dante's position if we neglect or disparage his radical distinction between the *beauty* and the *meaning* of poetry. At the next stage in his career, when he sets to work upon the *Convivio*, this dualism pervades his entire argument, and on this foundation, indeed, the whole of his commentary is built. In the *Vita Nuova*, the 'meaning' that he demands seems to be no more than good sense as opposed to empty words; but in the *Convivio* we enter the dark forest of allegory, where a guide with a strong lantern is sorely needed. The complexities of that subject would, in truth, require a separate thesis, and many of them I must frankly pass by. The guiding clue, however, to Dante's exposition of his own *Canzoni* is his distinction between the 'sound' and the 'meaning' (e.g. *Conv.*, ii. 13, 78-79), between the 'literal' interpretation which lies on the surface and the 'allegorical' which alone contains 'the truth.' Along with this we may place his marked antithesis of *bellezza* and *bontà*, though both are requisite, and to those who may find the meaning of a *Canzone* beyond them its beauty at least should appeal (*Conv.* ii. *Canz.*, 55-61). The goodness and the beauty, he says, of every *sermone* are divided and set apart; for the goodness is in the meaning, the beauty in the ornament of the words. Both are delightful, but the meaning gives the greater delight (*Conv.*, ii. 12, 21-27).

All this may be shocking heresy in artistic circles, but the heretic, and likewise the interpreter of his views, is Dante himself. There is not time to illustrate his mode of interpretation, nor can I do more than mention the fact that, in the fourth book of the

*Convivio*, he explicitly drops the allegorical sense, thus preparing the way, as some scholars think, for a transition from his allegorical poems to those more accurately described as ' doctrinal.' The true import of the *Convivio*, with its open avowal that the banquet spread for its readers consists in the hidden meaning of the *Canzoni*, in their power of leading men to ' knowledge and virtue ' (*Conv.*, i. 9, 48-53), is that we thus begin to discern the effect upon Dante of those thirty months of intensive study which followed upon his first discovery of philosophy as a consolation for his grief. A new world was thus disclosed to his ardent vision. The limited field to which he had once confined the activity of the *fedeli d'Amore* could no longer contain his ambition. From the mystical passion for Beatrice to the allegorical praise of a mistress no more incarnate than Philosophy was a strange step, which many would count a retrogression. But with Dante it was only the first stage on a journey which passed for a time, perhaps, through a frigid atmosphere, yet led him on at last to a glory unimagined in his youthful dreams. The guidance needed for an adventure so sublime was not to be found in the tradition of vernacular poetry, not even when every condition demanded in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* was amply fulfilled. When we compare the delicate fluting of ' famous troubadours ' on the single theme allowed them in the *Vita Nuova* with the tremendous range and sweep of the *Commedia*, it is manifest, surely, that the only conceivable models for Dante, the only prophets who could at least direct him towards his mighty vision of Judgment, were Virgil and those other majestic shadows of ancient bards, whose semblance, as they came to meet him, was ' neither sorrowful nor glad.'

Already, within the restricted precincts of Dante's formal discussions, we have noted some illustrations of the mediæval principle, that certain forms of poetry were appropriated to certain kinds of material. But now, in the final stage of our enquiry, we have to consider the same principle in relation to the vast and formidable contrast between the *volgare* and the *grammatica*, between the modest pretensions of the new poetry, still uncertain of its own destiny, and the ancient masterpieces whose authors the very ignorance and superstition of men long cut off

from the light had converted into pillars of cloud. Once more, too, it is difficult for us to recapture a long forgotten point of view. To us a poet is just a poet, no matter what language he prefers, so long as he behaves in the manner proper to his craft. Failing any higher qualifications, he will at least write in verse, and we may charitably take his word for it that the result is not identical with prose. In the age of Dante it was far otherwise. The ' poets ' were Virgil and all that solemn company of ancient sages. To claim for mere ' rhymesters,' mere *dicitori d'Amore in lingua volgare*, the same proud title was a piece of sheer audacity. Dante, indeed, does not hesitate to advance the claim, but he was well aware that it needed justification. Thus in the *Vita Nuova* (xxv. 58-60), he says, for instance, that any kind of licence allowed to the *poeti* should be conceded to the *rimatori*, since they also are poets, though *volgari* (*ibid.* 33). In the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* (ii. 4, 13-14), he raises the question more explicitly. ' Reviewing our argument,' he says, ' we remember that we have often spoken of those who make verses in the vulgar tongue as " poets " ; and our presumption is just and reasonable if we consider rightly the nature of poetry, which is nothing else but a *fictio rhetorica, in musicaque posita*.' The ' vulgar ' sort differ, however, from the ' regular ' poets, because their products are haphazard (*casu*) rather than deliberate works of art. To this he adds that, the more closely we imitate the old masters, the better our own poetry will be. We should emulate their ' indoctrined poetry ' (*ibid.* 27), and similarly, in a later chapter (*V. E.*, ii. 6, 74-85), he insists that in the form of their ' constructions '—the building up of sentences—the new writers should study both the poetry and the prose of ancient writers.

These are important statements, but it is clear from their context that in proposing the ' regular ' poets as models Dante is not at present looking beyond the general rules of an *ars poetica*. The ' doctrines ' that he bids the new poets emulate are the principles of craftsmanship, but certainly not doctrines belonging to the *sentenza* of poetry, not moral or speculative truths of any kind. Any recommendation in that sense would have been foreign to the tone of the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, and here once more we have, in fact, an example of Dante's reticence about

the line of development which might lead towards some attempt on the scale of the *Commedia*. For when once Dante had determined to break down all barriers between the youthful art of the *rimatori* and the ancient tradition of the *poeti*, it was no mere niceties of style, not just the bare principles of a superb technique, that he meant to annex, but the right of the poet to take as his proper material, no longer those two or three conventional themes, but all things in heaven and earth. As we read the *Commedia* we pass through the whole gamut of human nature from its deepest infamy to its most exalted triumph ; we survey the moving pageant of history, wrestle with intricate problems of philosophy, and rise on the aspiring wings of theology to contemplate the insoluble mystery of the Godhead. And as we travel through this boundless field of experience and speculation, we detract nothing from Dante's originality if we remember that in all this adventurous journey he supposed himself to be treading in the steps of his master Virgil ; not because here and there the structure of his design may owe something to the *Aeneid*, perhaps even to its very words, but because Virgil, as Dante read him, was the fountain of all wisdom, or at least of all that could be mastered by one who alas ! was born too soon.

Towards this great transformation of the vernacular poetry the use of allegory contributed something, and in this respect Dante by no means stood alone. Modern writers can talk of ' the allegorical school ' of poets active in that period, and it is certain at least that this rather frigid device was widely employed. But this alone would have carried Dante but a little way towards his ambition to meet the ancient poets as an equal. For allegory was, in truth, no privilege of the poets, nor yet their invention. It came into being, probably, as a weapon for the defence of Pagan religion against the attacks of early Greek philosophers ; and since it was at first only the poets who recounted tales of the gods, we may fairly say that allegory was forced upon them because their fables were the only ' theology ' known as yet to the Pagan world. The same method of defence or interpretation was adopted by Hellenistic Jews of Alexandria ; from them it passed in course of time to the Latin world, already fast forgetting its Greek ; in its new sphere it invaded monasteries and saved

the reputation of scandalous Pagan authors ; it added a book to the canon of Scripture ; it was seized upon as weapon of ecclesiastical controversy, and Dante himself, in his *Monarchia* (iii. 4) protested against many over-ingenious attempts to derive from it convincing proofs that the Emperor was subordinate to the Pope. Thus the whole of mediæval thought was steeped in allegory, and though its importance in Dante's usage must not be depreciated, it was not this alone, or this especially, that marked his adherence to the tradition of ancient poetry, as the men of his time understood it.

To describe, even in the most summary fashion, the mediæval distortion of classical poetry is beyond the scope of this lecture, but for the benefit of any who may chance not to know it, I may venture to recommend a book translated into English some forty years ago, Comparetti's *Virgil in the Middle Ages*. In some particulars the author's argument is open to criticism, but it remains a most illuminating work. From it we may learn, among other things, to avoid the once common error of attributing all the corruptions of literature to clerical ignorance or malice. The Virgilian legend was essentially a Pagan product. Already in the age of the Antonines men were dipping at random into the *Aeneid* for omens of the future (*sortes Vergilianae*) ; the grammarian Servius found the most ludicrous allegories in the most innocent lines ; Macrobius, who lived, indeed, into the fifth century, but remained ostentatiously aloof from Christianity, made Virgil expert in all intellectual disciplines and barely less than infallible. Hence if the Christians in their turn found a prophecy of the Redeemer in the fourth Eclogue, or if at Mantua, as late as the fifteenth century, Virgil actually appears in a Sequence sung in the Mass of St. Paul, these later fancies were only new applications of a method inherited from Pagan forerunners.

Dante's own conception and treatment of Virgil is a fascinating subject, had we time to pursue it. Some of the grosser elements in the tradition, such as the conversion of the unfortunate poet into a magician, he repudiates or ignores ; but there is ample evidence in the *Commedia*, and to some extent in the lesser works (e.g. *Monarchia*), that he would erase no item from a catalogue describing Virgil as grammarian, scholar, rhetorician,

historian, moralist, philosopher, and prophet of Christ. In such a list of characters, had some mediæval author actually compiled one for our use, you might note one startling omission. There might well be no mention of 'poet,' and it was to restore the meaning of this title, to absorb into the one essential character of Virgil all minor qualities, that Dante came. I have often felt that when Virgil was sent by the heavenly messenger to rescue Dante from the perils of his treacherous path, it was no less Dante's mission to lead his master out of the mire and fog into which benighted centuries of ignorance had plunged him. What saved Dante from the superstitions of the Virgilian legend, and enabled him to give us the profoundly moving figure of his guide and mentor, was nothing else but his own poetic genius. Or if we return for a moment to the formal language of the *Convivio*, it was because, with all his respect for the 'goodness' of the *sentenza*, he still held fast to *bellezza* and would by no means let it go. A Latin commentary, he says, might fall into the hands of rude foreigners who could not perceive the beauty of the *Canzoni*, and no poetry can be translated without destruction of all its sweetness and harmony (*Conv.*, i. 7, 84-95). Or again, some illiterate fellow might take upon himself to turn the Latin argument into the *volgare*, and then the prose, too, would become as ugly as the like translation of Aristotle's *Ethics* (*C.*, i. 10, 64-73). And so it was that when Dante passed beyond the rather stiff formality of the *Convivio* and began to interpret for himself a poem with the epic grandeur of the *Aeneid*, he must have seen—whether he phrased it thus to himself or not—that here was a work which suffered no cold antithesis of the 'literal' and the 'true,' which swept away the artifices of pedantry and the follies of superstition, leaving only its own visible embodiment of beauty and truth as one substance in one indivisible form.

Whatever modifications of theory Dante may, or may not, have reached in his more mature reflections, it is certain that by his own insight and practice he rediscovered the essence of poetry and restored to Virgil and many others their lost inheritance. Nevertheless, I believe that we utterly destroy the significance of the *Commedia* if we assent to that type of criticism which sees in him a man who wallowed dolefully for most of his time in a

theological slough of despond, but every now and then rose up like a skylark and burst into lyrical song. Could any modern lucubration in that fashionable style have fallen into his own hands, I cannot doubt that he would have seized the earliest opportunity of pitching it into that famous river which once, in a bitter moment, he described as 'the accursèd ill-starred ditch.' I will even hazard the opinion that, not Dante alone, but every one of the world's greatest artists would have laughed to scorn the suggestion that their crude material was only an irrelevant obstacle to their art. To triumph over the rough and formless matter was their true victory. We may picture Michael Angelo standing, chisel in hand, before some great block of marble. To others it may be just a ponderous lump of stuff, but to him it lives and breathes, and out of it in due time will step a Moses in all his majesty or a David ready to slay the giant in his path. So it was with Dante, but for him the material was no solid mass from the quarries of Carrara, but the wondrous spectacle of mankind on its road towards eternal loss or endless beatitude, and therewith all the wisdom of the poets, the philosophers, the mystics and the saints, who had striven to shed some ray of light on the darkness of human error. With what measure of success he accomplished his task, whether indeed he converted into poetry all the fruits of his long study, and made even dry bones live, each one of us must judge for himself. Beyond question he was everything that an artist, it seems, ought not to be—didactic, argumentative, edifying, scholastic, philosophical—nor would the epitaph which hails him as 'Dante the Theologian' have made him ashamed. Yet somehow, despite these grievous hindrances, he contrived to write a poem which has placed him, securely and for ever, on the topmost pinnacle of human fame.

# NOTES AND EXTRACTS FROM THE SEMITIC MSS. IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

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## III.

### Samaritan Pentateuch MSS. with a Description of two Codices.

THERE are in all twenty-seven codices listed in the collection of Samaritan manuscripts in the Library. They fall into four classes :

A. Pentateuch—Codices I.-VII.
B. Theological—Codices VIII.-X.
C. Liturgical—Codices XI.-XX. and XXVII.
D. Astronomical—Codices XXI.-XXVI.

This valuable collection was acquired by the Library from the Earl of Crawford in the year 1901. It would appear that the manuscripts had been in a dilapidated condition originally, for prior to their acquisition they had been repaired with some skill, and rebound by an English binder. Hence, none is found in its original native binding. They are now all bound uniformly in brown Levant morocco with elaborate ornament. Whilst this gives the collection a neat, and even sumptuous, appearance on the shelves, a severe penalty has been paid. In the process of binding the folios have been trimmed, with the unfortunate result that in some of them marginal epigraphs have suffered mutilation. As might be expected in such circumstances, they present us often with tantalising gaps.

In the year 1874, at the instance of the then Earl of Crawford, a short catalogue of the 22 items which at that time formed the

collection, was prepared by Dr. Löwe with the title "Handlist of Samaritan and Arabic-Samaritan Manuscripts belonging to the Earl of Crawford." This list is valuable since it furnishes information on the size, condition, etc., of the individual manuscripts before they were bound. It is preserved in manuscript in the Library. An elaboration of this handlist (probably also by Dr. Löwe, although that is not stated) followed later, at a time evidently when the collection had been added to. The MSS. were now re-catalogued and given different numbers. In the original list we are told that there was a parcel containing fragments of Samaritan Peutateuch MSS. Of this Dr. Löwe says:

"39 cahiers contain fragments of the Pentateuch in every size from quarto to sedecimo. Several pieces damaged by fire as No. 1. 1 cahier contains fragments of the Pentateuch and leaves of various prayers."

The second handlist has been made after the Pentateuch fragments here mentioned had been separated from the cahiers, and so assembled as to provide four additional codices. The two largest units were bound as separate codices (IV. and VI.). The remaining fragments were ranged into two groups according to size, and bound separately to form Codices V. and VII. Unfortunately, in so doing the individual manuscript fragments were dispersed and ranged according to their text under the books of the Pentateuch. Thus a manuscript of which portions of Genesis and Deuteronomy survived had them assigned to these books, the text order being regarded evidently as more important. This now necessitates in any new catalogue an identification and reassembling of manuscripts.

The Rylands collection has two almost complete Pentateuch MSS., both being slightly defective at beginning and end (Codices I. and II.). Codex III. has the text complete as far as Exodus xxvi. 12, where it breaks off. Codices II. and III. are bilingual texts, Hebrew and Arabic in parallel columns, with the Hebrew text in the right-hand column. Both columns are written in the Samaritan character. Codex IV. has the text of Genesis xxv. 30 to Exodus i. 15, and Codex VI. that of Genesis vi. 14 to vii. 18, and ix. 27 to xxxiv. 30. In Codex V. there

are bound together fragments of 16 separate MSS., whilst VII. comprises the remains of 20 more. Thus in the whole collection there are portions, large or small, of no fewer than 41 MSS. of the Pentateuch. Many of the fragments from evidence which will be adduced later appear to be of considerable age, probably many centuries before that of the oldest dated MS. in the collection (A.D. 1211).

In all the Pentateuch manuscripts vellum is the material used, with the exception of Codex III., which probably dates from last century, and is written on paper. For their Bible MSS. the Samaritans used the skins of animals killed as *shelamīm* (' peace-offerings '), no other skins being regarded as ritually suitable for the purpose.[1] Even the leather which they used for binding their religious books had to be from such animals.[2] They were careful at all times to avoid uncleanness from contact with the skins of animals not slain by one of their own community.[3] For the same reason on Sabbaths and feast days they avoided touching strange leather, and when riding to Mount Gerizim, used to cover saddle and reins with cloth. The Jews seemingly were not so particular. It was their rule that a Pentateuch scroll must be written on the skin of a clean animal, beast, or fowl (cf. Lev. xi. 2 f.) although it might not be slaughtered according to Jewish ritual. The skin of a fish, however, even if clean, must not be used for that purpose.

The parchment employed in our MSS. varies in thickness and quality from the tough, leather-like kind seen in Codex V(A) to the very thin and pliant of which there are many samples. In earlier times the rough hide was scraped on both sides to

[1] In the letters written by the Samaritans to Scaliger in 1582 and 1589 mention was made that their famous old Scroll was written on the skins of peace-offerings. So also to the same effect the letter of Meshalmah (M. Gaster, *Samaritans*, London, p. 174).

[2] There is an epigraph in Ryl. Codex XXIII. f. 157*a* to the effect that a possessor of the codex bound it with his own hand in a ceremonially clean skin from the peace-offerings in Shechem.

وجلدته بيدي בעור · טהור · מן · זבחי · השלמים · בשכם ·

[3] H. Petermann recalls that although skins used to be spread in the streets of Nablus to be made pliant by passers-by walking on them, the Samaritans would never tread on them (*Reisen im Orient*, I., Leipzig, 1860, p. 276).

make a thick, coarsish vellum, known to the Jews as גְּוִיל (*Gewīl*), but later the hide was split and the outer part only (קְלָף (*Qelaf*)) used for scrolls of the Law. In the preparation of their vellum folios to receive the text the Samaritans marked out guiding lines by the impress of a sharp piece of bone or a metal stylus. Longitudinal lines defined the width of the text column and transverse preserved the straightness and controlled the spacing of the lines of text. The longitudinal lines were each duplicated from an early period, leaving a space sufficient for a letter between them. This ensured accurate placing of the first and last letters of each line. The Samaritan scribes, however, so far at least as their codices of the Pentateuch were concerned, do not appear to have been hedged in with restrictions such as controlled Jewish practice in the writing of their scrolls.[1] So far as can be gathered, size of letter, number of lines to a page, etc., were matters of individual taste. In general, however, the same dimensions of column and the same number of lines to a page were preserved throughout the manuscript. In marking lines the impress was made usually on the flesh side and the scoring was so made as to leave a mark on the hair side sufficiently definite to serve for its text also. There are some MSS. in this collection (e.g. VII., *i*, *k*) which show no trace of guiding lines, and the text appears either to have been written without their aid, or they have been very lightly made and afterwards obliterated. In VII., *m*, longitudinal lines alone seem to have been provided.

Unlike most other scripts, the Samaritan was written with reference to an *upper* line. The characters were not designed to rest their pediments on a lower line, but rather to depend from one on which were ranged their tops. The bodies of the letters thus appeared to hang free in the interlinear space, like clothes pegged to a clothes-line. Only 3 Samaritan letters out of the 22 of their alphabet project upwards beyond this upper

[1] Jewish practice determined the width of the scroll at 6 handbreadths (about 24 ins.). Every full line should consist of 30 letters. Spaces were carefully regulated. The margin at the top should be 3 fingerbreadths (3 ins.), that at the foot 4, and between columns 2. The length of column was 10 fingerbreadths. The space between one Peutateuch book and another should be 4 lines, and so on (cf. *Baba Bathra*, 13*b*).

line, i.e. their ל, נ, and ם. The Samaritans finished each line with a complete word in accord with most Semitic languages. They never, at least in carefully written MSS., divided a word between two lines, and rather than crowd the letters of a word together in order to get it within the compass of the line, they preferred to transfer it to a new line and leave a blank space in that from which it was taken. The Jews, on the other hand, disliked blank spaces in their manuscripts, and preferred to fill out the line by extending the form of the last letter of the last word.[1] The Samaritans knew how to make artistic use of blank spaces in their MSS. They wrote the last letter of the last word at the very end of the line and left between it and the other letters the blank. As the necessity for such a blank is bound to occur frequently, and often too in a number of consecutive lines, the isolated letter at the end of the line stands out prominently and becomes a distinctive feature of the MS. Such a manuscript it will be convenient to name a 'one-letter' MS. A variation of this is to have two letters isolated at the end of the line with the blank preceding them. This we may conveniently describe as a 'two-letter' MS. A few MSS. are found where the blank occurs before the last letter or the last two letters indiscriminately, and these we can call 'mixed' MSS. The Samaritan scribes, whilst they had no hesitation in disrupting other words, made an exception of the tetragrammaton—at any rate in the later period. In very few of the MSS. represented in the Rylands collection are the letters of יהוה separated. Rather than divide the Divine name they were content to write it where it chanced to fall in the line, and leave the columned space provided for the last letter of the line unoccupied.

The Samaritan calligraphists were sufficiently ingenious to combine the use of blanks with a clever distribution of letters in order to produce a highly ornamental effect. Thus in their more ornate MSS. they took pains to ensure that a letter or group of letters should, where possible, be written directly under the same letter, or group, occurring in the line above. Thus, e.g., an א would be written directly under another א, or משפחת

[1] These letters known to grammarians as the *Literæ Dilatabiles* are א,ה,ל,ת,ם, in printed texts, and in addition ד, ך, ר in MSS.

under משפחת when they chanced to be found in suitable places in consecutive lines. In portions of text occupied by genealogical lists, etc., this led to quite considerable numbers of the same letters and words being written under each other in a number of consecutive lines producing the effect of columns of the same letter. This 'columnar' arrangement was often secured by separating at will the letters of words in the middle of lines. Even the first letter of a line might be transposed to second place, leaving the first place unoccupied. In the more elaborate MSS. this letterless space was occupied by 3 dots arranged in the form of a triangle. The Samaritan letters, which have in general a greater lateral extension than the corresponding Hebrew, lend themselves to the 'columnar' arrangement. The following is Numbers xxvi. 35-37 as set forth in Codex I., p. 471, which is incidentally a 'two-letter' MS. Hebrew characters have been substituted for the Samaritan. Only the longitudinal lines are indicated.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| : | ם | ת | אפרים . למשפחו | ו |
| : | י | ח | משפח ת . השתל | ∴ |
| : | י | ר | משפח ת . הבכ | ∴ |
| : | י | מ | משפח ת . התח | ∴ |
| | ה | ל | בני . שות | א |
| = | י | נ | משפח ת . העד | ∴ |
| | ם | י | משפחות . בני . אפר | א |
| | ף | ל | מ . שנים . ושלשים . א | ∴ |
| =: | ם | | חמש . מאות : אלה . בני . יוסף . למשפחות | ו |

The Samaritans at an early stage made use of the dot as a word separator in their MSS. A later outcome was the use of the double dot in the form of a colon (:) to mark the end of a sentence. Presumably later still was the use of two dots side by side (the 'twin-dot') to indicate the main pause within the sentence. The end of a section (קץ) was marked by a colon with some additional sequelæ. The earliest form appears to have been the colon combined with a horizontal stroke (—:). There are many variations of these marks according to the whims of the copyists. Thus the colon is sometimes written *:* or */* or even =, and the section mark is found as —•:, or —〈:, or —c:, or —•: or elaborations of these. Larger divisions of text corresponding to our chapters are marked at the end by still

greater elaboration of signs, occupying often the greater part of a line.[1]

The Samaritans also developed a system of vowel marks or signs which in some respects resembles the Babylonian system of vocalisation as used in Hebrew Bible MSS. The first step in the direction of 'pointing' appears to have been the use of a small horizontal stroke written above a word or letter to direct the reader's attention particularly to it. Thus a word capable of a double 'pointing' is marked with the stroke to show that the less usual pointing is to be read. Sometimes the stroke is found over a letter to indicate doubling. Gradually a system of vowel marks developed. Thus a short perpendicular stroke was used to mark an indefinite vowel. It is found written in some MSS. over prefixed prepositions with vocal *shewa*. The sign < is often used for an *e* vowel, and ⌊ for an *o* vowel. All these signs are superposed. A contraction is marked by ⸗ (בעי) added in place of the remainder of the word.

In Samaritan Pentateuch MSS. there are no catchwords nor any form of pagination. In other MSS. they used both, such manuscripts being composed of small gatherings (usually ten leaves), the last leaf of each bearing the letter indicating the number of the gathering. In their Pentateuch MSS. the Samaritan scribes made a practice of concluding each folio and usually also each page with a syntactical pause, or full sentence, even if to achieve this they had to add at the foot of the page a line or part of a line above the prescribed number. In consequence by far the largest number of their pages begin with the conjunction *waw*.[2] Each book of the Pentateuch began with a new page. At the end of each book there was left a considerable portion of blank page—usually half or more. In this was written by the scribe the number of sections (קצים, קצין) found in the book just completed. In the case of some MSS. the number of words or letters

[1] At the end of the Book of Deuteronomy in the Barberini Triglott there is a note which gives the Samaritan names of these signs as follows . = אנחו, : = פסק, .. = נגד. See M. Heidenheim, *Bib. Sam.*, Leipzig, 1884, p. xxxiv., note.

[2] Some Jewish scribes were careful to begin each column with the letter *waw*, others with one of the letters found in the words ביה שמו (" by his name Jah "—Ps. lxviii. 5).

was also added.[1] At a later time, however, the remainder of the page was utilised to record transfer of ownership and terms of sale of the codex from time to time. Such records, written usually in Samaritan-Aramaic, supply interesting information on the travels and vicissitudes of the codex. We shall return to a detailed consideration of these in the case of Codices I. and II.

There is no colophon properly so-called to be found at the end of a Samaritan Pentateuch MS. Instead, the Samaritans employed an ingenious device peculiar to themselves whereby they made use of the actual letters of the text to supply the essential information. They marked off in the centre of the text column by impress two longitudinal lines little more than the space of a letter apart. Into this space they introduced such letters of the text, and such letters only, as met the requirements of the text of their colophon, or chronogram. They so contrived that the particular letters they sought were assigned to the space between the lines. This was the more easily arranged, since the Samaritan scribe, as we have seen, had no abhorrence of blanks in a line of text. The colophon thus marked out was read from the top of the page downwards. Its words were usually marked off by a small horizontal stroke under the final letter of each. The Samaritans called this colophon of theirs a *tashqīl*.[2] By way of illustration we give the beginning of the *tashqīl* of Codex I. (Deut. i, 1).

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| א | לה . הדברים . | | א | שר . דבר . משה . אל . כ | ל |
| י | שראל . בעבר . הירד | | נ . | במדבר . בער | ב | ה |
| מ | ול . סוף . בין . פ | | | ראן . ובין . ת | פ | ל |
| ∴ | ולבן . וח צר ו ת . | | | ודי . זהב : א | ח | ד |
| ע | שר . יום . מ ח ר ב . | | | דרך . הר . שעיר . | ע | ד |
| ק | דש . ברנע : ו י | | ה | י . בארבעים . ש | נ | ה |

The opening word אנה (" I ") here appears. The most common form of *tashqīl* is that which gives the name and lineage of the scribe, the dates on which the transcription was begun, or completed, and occasionally some additional information. Thus,

[1] The number of sections are alone given in the two complete codices in the Rylands collection.

[2] The root of this word is the Aramaic שקל = " to take, or take away ". The form here is the *maṣdar* of the II form (فَعَّل) of the Arabic verb.

in the case of Codex I. we are told it was the 27th copy of the Law the scribe had made. In bilingual MSS. each of the parallel columns is split to provide a *tashqīl* matrix, but each has its *tashqīl* in its own language, although both are to the same effect. *Tashqīls* other than chronograms are found in the more elaborate MSS., as we shall find in the detailed description of Codices I. and II.

Of the 41 Pentateuch MSS. in the Library, only 2 are dated. It is thus a matter of considerable importance that criteria should be established, if possible, for determining age on a comparative basis. The general condition of a manuscript, the state and colour of the parchment, the fadedness of the ink, afford a general indication of age, but since so much depends on the treatment it has received and the conditions under which it has been preserved, such considerations have no fixed value as independent evidence. Palæography, so useful in the case of most scripts, is unfortunately in this matter of little help. The Samaritan majuscule script was from very early times so stereotyped that no great variation from precise form appears to have occurred. Individuality is shown occasionally in the shaping of a few characters such as the loop heads of the Samaritan ב and ר, and in the formation of the ם and ל, but generally it is confined to the angle of slope of the writing. In the writing of the eighteenth century there are traces of a more ornate style, as shown in epigraphs on the MSS. All the Pentateuch MSS. are written in the formal script, customarily known as the majuscule, which the Samaritans used for that purpose. The less formal script, customarily known as minuscule, which they used largely in their liturgical MSS., although derived from the majuscule, does not at first glance show many signs of resemblance. The relationship of Samaritan majuscule and minuscule may be likened to that of the Hebrew square characters to the Rabbinic script. The ink used was generally black (Indian) ink, which in well-preserved MSS. retains a glossy appearance, at least on the hair side of the parchment. Occasionally a kind of red ink was used for writing the text, which has faded to a reddish-brown colour. The pens used were mostly reed pens. These, if more recent practice be a true guide, the scribe would make from canes

imported from Mesopotamia. The making of a pen was a fine art.[1] But in all this there is little which can be of use to us in dating a manuscript.

In the problem of date the following considerations, in addition to the impression of age left by the general appearance of the manuscript, may be regarded as relevant.

1. The use made of the separator dot. In very early MSS., particularly in some still in Nablus, the separator dot is used sparingly, if at all. In MSS. of relatively recent date the dot is not placed after a word which finishes a line, where obviously it is not required. The presence of the dot at the end of a line may be regarded as an indication of a relatively early date, since it is rarely found, if at all, in dated MSS. The absence of the dot at the end of a line enhanced the appearance of a MS. and is thus almost certainly a later development. Consequently a MS. with the dot in that place may be held to be earlier than one from which it is absent.

2. Punctuation marks. The earlier MSS. appear to have been content with the separator dot and an occasional ' colon ' (:). The ' twin-dot ' (..) is evidently a later development than the ' colon '. A MS. which shows a sparing use of the ' colon ' and no ' twin-dot ' may be deemed early, or, equally important, a careful transcript of an early MS.

3. Vocalisation marks. All indications point to a slow and gradual use of vocalisation marks in Samaritan Pentateuch MSS. The process began, as we have seen, with the employment of the short horizontal stroke superposed on word or letter. Thus the free use of vocalisation marks in a MS. would suggest a late date, and the entire absence of such marks might reasonably be held to imply an early date.

4. The writing of the tetragrammaton at the end of a line. It was clearly a later conception which extended the sacredness of the Divine name to include the non-separation of its letters. We cannot imagine that a separation of the letters of יהוה could have been contemplated *after* the belief in their sacredness and

[1] *Vide* E. Robertson, Muhammad ibn Abd-ar-Rahman on Calligraphy, in *Studia Semitica et Orientalia*, Glasgow, 1920, p. 76 ff.

necessary union had taken firm hold.[1] Any MS., then, which has the letters of יהוה separated at the end of a line like any ordinary word to meet the requirements of Samaritan symmetry in the design of their MSS., must be deemed relatively early.

5. The 'one-letter' type of manuscript is presumably earlier than the 'two-letter'. The squaring of the text column with the aid of longitudinal bounding lines was an early device. The writing of the final letter of the line hard up against the bounding line was a natural consequence. This, in turn, suggested the use of a second or auxiliary line drawn parallel to the first at about the space of a letter apart. There followed naturally the writing of the second last letter of the line hard up against this auxiliary line. There can, then, be little doubt, that the 'one-letter' MS. is a prior stage to the 'two-letter'.

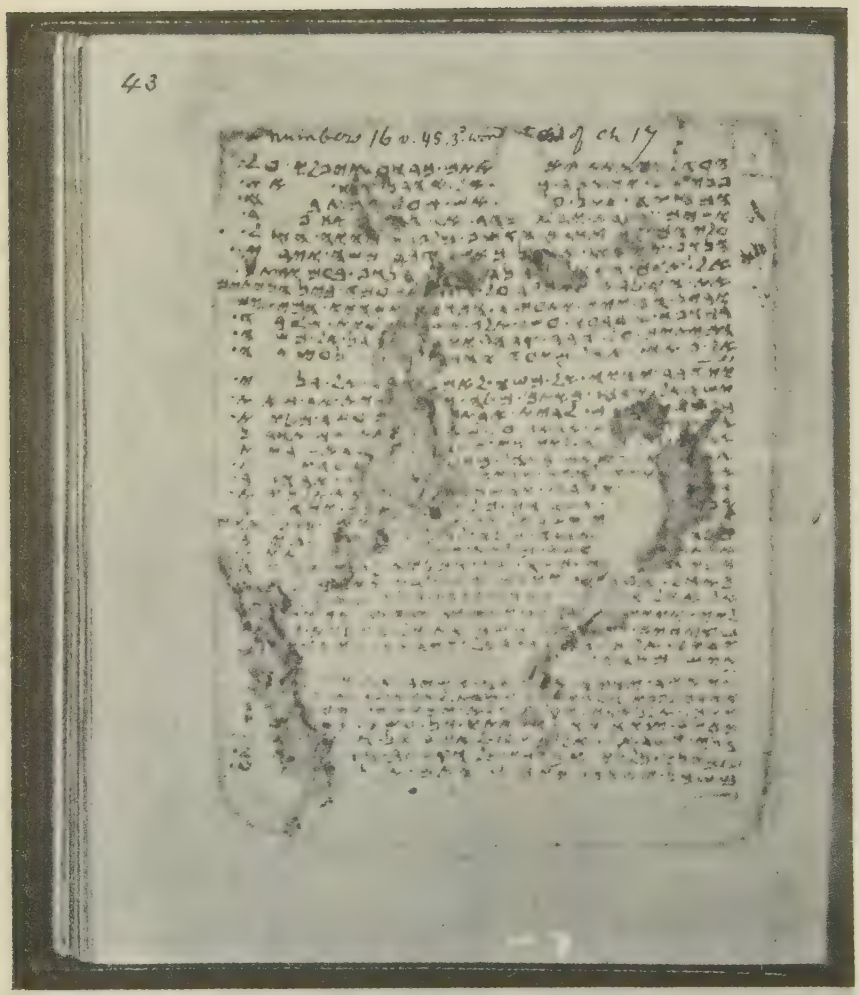
6. The sense pause at the foot of the page. This is a feature of later Pentateuch MSS. at least. Earlier scribes were perhaps not so particular [as witness Ryl. Sam. VII. *g*, pp. 23-24]. Jewish copyists stressed this feature, as we have already noted.

The columnar, or symmetric,[2] scheme of text distribution might be expected to represent a late development, but on that score there is not sufficient evidence. All indications point to its having originated at an early date and continued in use in all MSS. which made claim to elegance.

As the point of departure in our scheme of comparative dating of the MSS. we have as earliest dated MS. Codex I., with the date A.D. 1211. How many of the features of early dating listed above does this thirteenth-century MS. possess? Its vellum is in an excellent state of preservation, contrasting very favourably in that respect with many of the manuscript fragments in Codices V. and VII. There is no dot at the end of its lines.

[1] Jewish scribes exercised scrupulous care in writing the names of God. It was laid down that before writing a name of God the scribe must say, "I intend to write the Holy name," otherwise the scroll would be unfit (פסול) for public reading. The scribe must not allow himself to be interrupted in the course of writing it. No part of the name may extend into the margin. An error in the word cannot be erased, but the whole sheet must be replaced and the defective sheet put in the Genizah. *Vide* J. D. Eisenştein, in *Jewish Encyclopædia*, s.v. Scroll.

[2] 'Symmetric' is the term employed by Dr. Gaster.



PL. I.—RYL. SAM. CODEX VII. *n.* UNDATED, BUT PROBABLY THE OLDEST MS IN THE COLLECTION.

Of punctuation marks, it uses freely both the ' colon ' and the ' twin-dot '. The vocalisation system is only represented by the short horizontal stroke, which, however, is used but sparingly. The tetragrammaton is not divided, nor is it written to the end of a line if space permits otherwise. It is a ' two-letter ' MS. Each page ends with a sense division, usually marked by a ' colon '. Thus it will be appreciated that at the beginning of the thirteenth century this MS. already possessed most of the features we recognise as relatively late. Now, many of the undated fragments in our collection exhibit several of the features we class as early, suggesting that they are prior to the thirteenth century in date. There is one in particular [Ryl. Sam. VII. *n.*] which on the basis of our reading must be the oldest in the collection. It consists of three single leaves of thin, worn vellum, discoloured with age, and mounted on other vellum by the repairer to ensure their preservation. The text column measures only 3·8 in. by 3 in. with 38 lines to the full page and about 26 letters to the full line. The ink, which was originally black, has now faded to a dull brown colour. The writing is not elegant, but is pleasing to the eye, and displays more individuality than is found in carefully written MSS. There is no trace left of guiding lines, either longitudinal or latitudinal. The lines of text, however, maintain straightness and the squareness of the text column is well preserved. Occasionally lines spill into the margin. The lines, too, are close written and so also are the words and letters. The separator dot is found at the ends of lines. The colon is used only at the ends of sections where it is found combined with the stroke (—:). At only two places (both doubtful) is it found in the middle of the text. There is no trace of any vocalisation marks. It is a ' one-letter ' MS. The letters of the tetragrammaton are separated at the end of a line.[1] It is, moreover, one of the few Pentateuch MSS. which do not end a page with a syntactic pause. Thus it is a MS. which possesses each of the six features we have identified with a relatively high antiquity. It is the only one in the collection which has them all, and for this reason I am disposed to

[1] *Vide* VII. *n.*, p. 43, l. 25, and p. 54, l. 25.

regard it as the oldest in the collection, antedating Codex I. probably by several centuries.

## Codex I.

Codex I. is, as far as can be ascertained, the oldest dated Samaritan MS. of the whole Pentateuch to be found out of Nablus. The oldest dated Samaritan Pentateuch MS. in the British Museum is Or. 6461, with the date A.H. 740 (A.D. 1339/40). There is another codex of the Pentateuch (Add. 22369), with the date A.H. 761 (A.D. 1359). In Cambridge University Library there is a bilingual Pentateuch (Hebrew-Arabic) MS. (Add. 714), dated A.H. 616 (A.D. 1219), but there is also an undated MS. (fragmentary) which is evidently older.[1] The Bodleian Library has not a complete Pentateuch MS. with date. The only dated parts of the Samaritan Pentateuch MSS. found there are the texts of Genesis with date A.D. 1767, and Numbers A.D. 1786/7.[2] Dr. M. Gaster has pointed out that he has in his possession the oldest fragment of the Bible scroll in Europe, belonging to the twelfth century.[3] There would appear to be in Leningrad a Samaritan Pent. MS. with the date 599 A.H. (A.D. 1202/3), but it is only a fragment.[4] In the year 1892 the Rev. W. Scott Watson took to America a Samaritan Pentateuch codex which he had bought whilst in Palestine. It is dated 629 A.H. (A.D. 1232), and in the number and form of its *tashqīls* closely resembles our Codex I., from which it is only separated by 21 years.[5] The

[1] Add. 1846, which contains the date of a signatory A.H. 545 (A.D. 1150).

[2] I am indebted to Mr. A. F. Scholfield, Librarian of Cambridge University Library, Mr. E. O. Winstedt, Keeper of the Oriental Department in the Bodleian Library, and Mr. A. S. Fulton, of the Department of Oriental Printed Books in the British Museum, for the information on the dating of the Samaritan MSS. in those libraries.

[3] M. Gaster, *Studies and Texts*, I., 1928, pp. 462 f. This is presumably the MS. dated A.H. 562 (A.D. 1166/7) of which he gives a photograph (Pl. 12) in his *Samaritans*, London, 1925.

[4] "The earliest dated Samaritan MS. is probably the fragment mentioned by Harkavy which was written in A.H. 599, and is now in St. Petersburg,"—A. E. Cowley, "A Supposed Early Copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch," *P.E.F.Q.S.*, 1904, pp. 394 f.

[5] For a description of it, see Rev. W. Scott Watson, "A Critical Copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch, written in A.D. 1232," *Hebraica*, IX., 1893, pp. 216 f.

Barberini Triglott,[1] now in Rome, which contains a substantial part of the Pentateuch, is dated A.H. 624 (A.D. 1227). In its present state it begins at Genesis xxxiv. 25 and ends, or rather ended, at Deuteronomy xi. 28. The last chapters of Deuteronomy were added by another hand in A.H. 799 (A.D. 1396).[2] This MS. has long been regarded as the oldest dated MS. of the whole Pentateuch (or at least a substantial part of it) outside of Nablus, but, as we see, our Rylands Codex I. antedates it by 16 years, and is, moreover, almost complete.

Codex I. is written on vellum, and extends to 303 folios. It has suffered damage and corresponding loss of text at both beginning and end.[3] The dimensions of the leaves in their original state were 12·75 in. by 10·75 in. This has been reduced in re-binding to 10·8 in. by 8·9 in. The destruction of so much margin has involved the loss of part of an epigraph at the end of the Book of Exodus (p. 284). The MS. is written in a glossy black ink and the script is a large majuscule. The individual characters are accurately formed throughout, with a slight differentiation in thickness of stroke in parts of the same letter. The letters are well placed and spaced, the whole presenting a writing of dignity and much beauty. The 'columnar' scheme of text distribution has been kept prominently in view throughout. It is obviously a MS. on which much care and money have been expended, although traces of erasions and rectifications are still observable. The actual text column measures 6·8 in. by 5·8 in. There are 26 lines to a full page, and about 23 letters to a full line. The space between lines is about ·25 in. There are the usual guiding lines formed by impress. It is a 'two-letter' MS., and the letters of the tetragrammaton are not separated at the end of a line, as we have already observed. Care has been taken to prevent the text trespassing on the margin. To obviate this, in one or two places the text has been written small. The separator dot is not written at the ends of lines, and there is free

[1] The Hebrew text is in the r.h. column, Arabic in the centre, Samaritan-Aramaic in the l.h. column.

[2] See B. Blayney, *Pentateuchus Samaritanus*, Oxford, 1790, p. x.; M. Heidenheim, *Bibliotheca Samaritana*, Leipzig, 1884, pp. xx f.

[3] The text begins at Genesis i. 12 and continues, almost complete, to Deuteronomy xxix. 18.

use of both the 'colon' and the 'twin-dot,' whilst colon and stroke mark the ends of sections. As already indicated, vocalisation marks, apart from the horizontal stroke, are wanting.

The general condition of the MS. is very good apart from the damage at beginning and end already referred to. Several pages are heavily soiled and stained, particularly at the two ends. Many of the pages bear witness that the codex has been much in use, and partly, too, out of doors. A number of stains of a dark reddish colour may be blood stains. Pp. 396 f., which face each other, have a heavy coating of grime. This is due to the fact that on p. 397 is found the passage Numbers vi. 24-27, containing the Aaronic blessing. This place the congregation were in the habit of handling and kissing, hoping to obtain from it some mystic benefit. Pp. 310-311 are similarly stained for a similar reason, since on p. 310 we find Leviticus ix. 22-24, where we are told that Aaron lifted up his hand and blessed the people. Much weather-stained are pp. 180-193, containing Exodus x.-xiii. (the Passover); p. 237, having Exodus xxvii. (altar of incense); p. 466, with Numbers xxv. 10 (account of Phinehas); and p. 554, with Deuteronomy, xiii. 2 f. (false prophets).

A. *Tashqīls.* The codex has no fewer than four *tashqīls.*

1. *The Great Tashqīl.* It begins at the beginning of Deuteronomy (p. 508), and continues to the end of chapter iii. of that book (p. 521). It is in the Samaritan dialect, and reads as follows :—

אנה · אבי · ברכהתה · בר · אב · ששון · בר · נפושה · בר · אברהם · צרפתאה · כתבת · הדה · אורהותה · קדישתה · לתרין · אחין · טביה · ויסף · בני · סעדה · בר · יצחק · בשנת · ח · ו · ו · ק · למלכות · ישמעאל · והיא · מלוי · ז · וכ · ארואן · כתבת · רב · חילה · דכן · סעד :

" I, Ab Berakhāthah, son of Ab Sāsōn, son of Ab Nefūshah, son of Abraham of Ṣarepta have written this holy Torah for two brothers Tabiah [1] and Joseph, sons of Sa'dah, son of Isaac, in the year 608 of the dominion of Ishmæl.[2] And it is the twenty-seventh Law I have written. The Lord of Might is witness." [3]

[1] Not Ṭōbiah, as might be expected. It is always rendered by غزال in Arabic.

[2] The Muhammadan era.

[3] סעד is often used in Samaritan for סהד, 'to witness,' instead of 'to help'. It may be translated of course " is my helper ".

2. *The Mid-Pentateuch Tashqīl*, p. 301. The midpoint of the Samaritan Pentateuch is at Leviticus vii., between verses 15 and 16. The *tashqīl* here reads חצי · התורה ' half Torah '. Its beginning is the ח of זבח (Lev. vii. 11) and its end the ה of נדבה in the 16th verse. The actual midpoint occurs after the word בקר (last word of verse 15) and as it happens to be written near to the middle of the line, we find two colons and a stroke (:—:) after it with the rest of the line left blank save for the section mark (—:) written at the end of the line. Verse 16 begins a new line.

3. *The Sabbath Tashqīl*, p. 252. The matrix for this *tashqīl* is in the form of a circle. It is inserted in the passage on the Sabbath Day (Ex. xxxi. 12-17). The *tashqīl* reads clockwise, and begins at the top of the circle. It is as follows :

אשר · לאשר · ישמר · קדושה :

" Happy is he who keep it holy."

It begins with the א of ישראל (xxxi. 13), and after proceeding round the circle (the bottom letter of the circle being the first ש in ששת in verse 17, it returns to end with the ה of היא in verse 13. A circular *tashqīl* is naturally very difficult to construct, and in this case it has been found necessary to write some of the words of the text which fall within the compass of the circle very small.

4. *The Deliverance Tashqīl*, p. 197. This is found in the passage recording the deliverance of Israel at the Red Sea, and is in Samaritan :

יהוה · נצוחי · קרביה :

" The Lord is the conqueror of his foes."

It extends from Exodus xiv. 19 to 23. It begins with the י of אלהים in verse 19, and ends with the ה of פרעה in verse 23.

B. *Additions.* There are the usual Masoretic notes found in Samaritan Pentateuch MSS. at the end of each book, giving particulars of the number of קצין (קצים), or ' sections '. In our codex it is given in a shorter form than is often found in many other MSS.

1. At end of Genesis, p. 151.

ספר · הראשוך ד · וג · קצ :

" The First Book, 250 sections."

2. At end of Exodus, p. 284.

ספר · השני · ר · קצים :

"The Second Book, 200 sections."

3. At end of Leviticus, p. 373.

ספר · השלישי · ק · ול · וד ·

"The Third Book, 134 (sections)."

4. At end of Numbers, p. 507.

ספר · הרביעי · ר · ויח · קצים

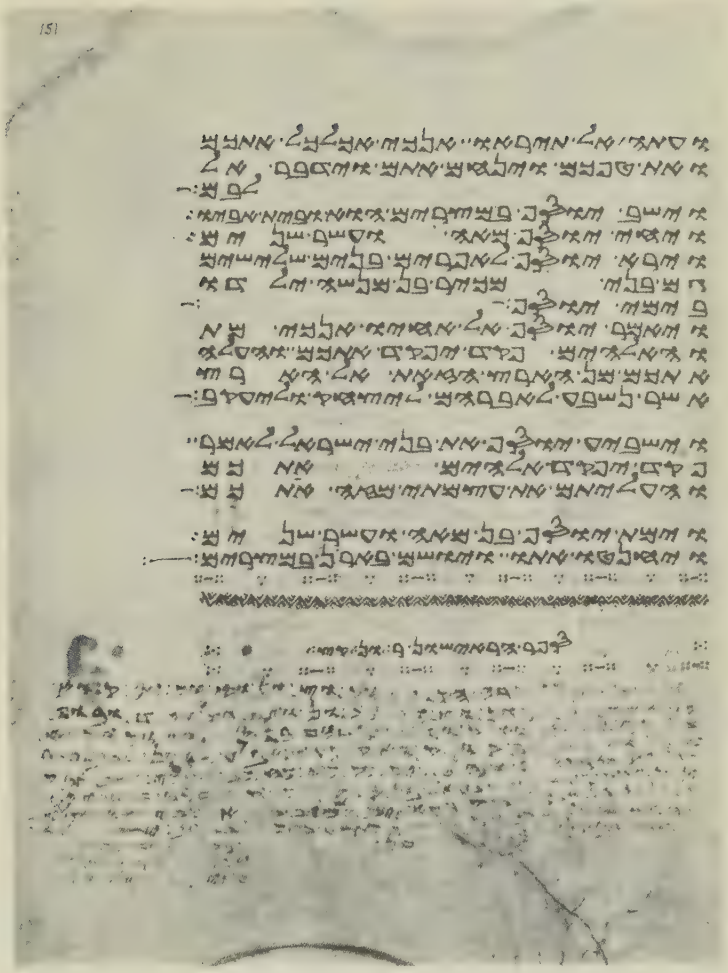
"The Fourth Book, 218 sections."

C. *Records of Sale of Codex.* The blank portion of page left between books is often utilised to record transfers of ownership.

1. At the end of the Book of Genesis (p. 151). The epigraph here is very much defaced and the ink has so faded as to make the characters in parts illegible. It is a mass of contractions. The great majority of the words consist of honorific titles attached to the names of the parties mentioned in the record of sale. As these titles are attached not merely to the names of the principals but to the names of their fathers and grandfathers their number was multiplied, and often the scribe found it convenient to represent them by their initial letter only along with the Samaritan sign indicating a contraction (≺). In the text which follows the parts within square brackets represent the completion of the words. These I have been able to supply, partly from similar epigraphs where the titles have been written in full, and partly from a list of titles provided in prayers for the dead found in Ryl. Sam. XV., pp. 41 f. The text, so far as it can be deciphered, is as follows :—

קנה · זאת · התורה · הקנדושה · יקנירה · וקנראה · וצנלאה · ונ[א]ירה ·
זחנשובה · וכנותובה · וסנומוך · קנהלה · ואנרכון · קנהלה · עבד · יהנוה · בן
יקנירה · וקנראה · וצנלאה · וחנשובה · וכנותובה · ונ[א]ירה · וידנועה · ומנבונגה ·
זינם (?) · דעתה · ובנינתה · ופנרך · זנבנה · וקנדושה · וסנומוך · קנהלה · ואנרכון ·
קנהלה · ועושה · טנבהתה · אברהם · בן · סנהבה · טנבה · ויקנירה · וקנראה ·
וצנלאה · וחנשובה · וכנותובה · ונ[א]ירה · ומנשירה · ורניטנרה · וחנשוב · קנשטה ·
זסנומוך · קנהלה · ואנרכון · קנהלה · ועושה · טנבהתה · אב (?) · [1]ענדת (?) ·
זיקנירה · ונ[א]ירה · דמבני (?) · מטר (?) · מבן (?) · יקנירה (?) · צדקה · בן · סנהבה ·
טבה · ויקנירה · וקנראה · וצנלאה · וחנשוב · חנשבן · קנשטה · וסנומוך · קנהלה ·
יאנרכון · קנהלה · ועושה · טנבהתה · ישמעל · בן · סנהבה · טנבה · וסנומוך ·
קנהלה · ואנרכון · קנהלה · צדקה · דמבני · שכם (?) · קנה (?) · למדלה (?) . . . . . .

[1] This may stand for אב עזי —a proper name.



Pl. II.—Ryl. Sam. Codex I. (A.D. 1211). The End of the Book of Genesis. At the foot is a Deed of Sale

במאתים . [1]ושמנים . כסף . אדומי (?) . וזה . חקנ . . . בחדש . שואל . ד . שבע .
ושלשים . ותשע . מאות . למ(לכות) . בני . ישמעאל . ילמד . בה . בנו . ובן . בנו .
אמן . כתב . מן . יד . מכתבה . יוסף . בן . רעובן . אבי . עזי . בן . איתמר [2] :

"There purchased this holy Torah 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 12. 13 Ebed Yahweh,[3] son of 1. 2. 3. 5. 6. 4. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14 Abraham, son of 15. 1. 2. 3. 5. 6. 4. 18. 16. 20. 12. 13. 14 Ab 'Uzzi (?) 1. 4 of the children of Maṭar, from the son of 1.

[1] Originally written ששים (sixty), but subsequently changed to שמנים (eighty) by someone who wished to dispose of it at an enhanced price. This change of price to enhance the value of the codex in the eyes of a prospective purchaser seems to have been a common enough practice. As we shall see, it occurs in another Addition, and Rev. W. Scott Watson records a similar change in a deed of sale on one of his MSS. [*Hebraica*, IX., 1893, p. 218].

[2] The titles, which are the subjects of contraction, are in general clear enough. As they occur so repeatedly I will number them, giving their meaning as best I can, and insert the numbers in the translation.

1. יקירה—√יקר = worthy, honoured.

2. קראה—presumably one who read the Law in public.

3. צלאה—seems to mean 'leader in prayer' before the congregation.

4. נאירה—for נהירה, √נהר, 'enlightened'. The Samaritans did not distinguish clearly the gutturals א, ה, ח, ע, which they interchanged at will.

5. חשובה—probably 'calculator,' one who knew how to calculate new moons, eclipses, etc., 'mathematician'.

6. כתובה—'scribe' possibly. In Talmud it appears to mean a 'writer' in the sense of 'notary'.

7. ידועה—perhaps 'chosen,' or one with insight, knowledge.

8. מבוננה—'discerning,' 'discriminating'.

9. ים דעת ובינתה—'sea of knowledge and judgement,' i.e. 'encyclopædic in knowledge'. The Arabs call the dictionary القاموس, 'the ocean'.

10. פרד ובנו—'unique of his time,' cf. Arab. فَرْدٌ.

11. קדושה—'holy,' 'saint'.

12. סמוך קהלה—perhaps from √סמך = press, lay hands on. If so, it would mean 'ordained of the congregation', or it may be associated with סמך 'prop,' 'stay'.

13. ארכון קהלה—'prince, leader of the congregation,' Gk. *ἄρχων*.

14. עשה טבהתה—'doer of good deeds,' generous, beneficent.

15. סהבה טבה—'venerable,' Heb. סבה טבה—ripe old age.

16. ריטזרה—Gk. *ῥήτωρ*, 'public speaker,' 'pleader'.

17. חשוב חשבן קשטה—'renderer of a true account,' auditor (?).

18. משירה—perhaps from √ישר upright, unless it be the equivalent of מְשׁוֹרֵר = temple singer, cantor.

19. אב עדת = 'father of the community'.

20. חשוב קשטה—'recorder of truth,' perhaps same as 17.

[3] In Arabic, 'Abdullah.

Ṣedhāqah, son of 15. 1. 2. 3. 17. 12. 13. 14 Ishmael, son of 15. 12. 13 Ṣedhāqah, of the children of Shechem (?), as his own property . . . at the price of 280 (originally 260) Roman [1] silver-pieces, and this purchase was concluded on the 4th of the month of Shawwāl [of the year] 937 of the dominion of the children of Ishmael.[2] May he teach with it his son and his son's son, amen. Written by the hand of the scribe Joseph, son of Reuben Ab 'Uzzi, son of Ithamar."

2. At the end of the Book of Exodus (p. 284), a record of sale is written in Samaritan majuscule, in a good clear hand with a tendency to backward slope. In this case there are no contractions.

קנה · הדה · ארהותה · קדישתה · דירדת · על · יד · משה · בן · עמרם : איש ·
האלהים · הצדיק · בנביותו · דיסדו · בו · מלפני · אדם : סמוכה · רבה · וארכונה ·
מחוחיה · בשכם · מן · עבד · אלה · בר · סהבה · טבה · סעדה · מן · שכוני · עזה ·
בשנת · י · ב · ח · ק · בחדש · אלקעדה · [3]בשש · מאות · כסף · וחמשים · כסף ·
ימלי · יהו(וה) · דקנה · אתה · וישמרו · אמן · וכתב · פינחס · בן · אבישע · בן ·
פינחס · ובמה · סופיר · אסיד · וברוך · אלהינו · לעולם ׳

"There purchased this holy Torah which descended at the hand of Moses, son of Amram, the saintly man of God, with the prophecy implanted in him from before man, the great support (or ordained one) and leader, Methuḥiah in Shechem, from 'Abdullah, son of the venerable Sa'dah of the inhabitants of Gaza, in the year 812 in the month Dhu'l-Qa'dah, at the price of 600 (originally 300) pieces of silver. May the Lord fulfil [the days of] the purchaser and keep him, amen. There wrote [it] Pīnḥas, son of Abīsha', son of Pīnḥas, and with what is recorded, he is witness.[4] And blessed be our God for ever."

3. Written below the foregoing on the same page (284) in Samaritan majuscule, displaying more individuality than customary, is this certificate. Unfortunately the trimming of the margin in the process of binding has entailed a loss of text towards the end.

[1] אדומי, lit. Edomite, was used in Talmudic times for 'Roman'. Here probably *dīnārs* are meant [Lat. denarius].

[2] I.e. Muhammadan era. It is the year A.D. 1531.

[3] Originally בשלש = at the price of *three*. The ל has been erased to convert the number to *six*.

[4] Probably אסיד is for סהיד or אסהיד. Arabic root شهد.

חזיתי · בזאת · התורה · הקדושה · וקריתי · בה · וכתבתי · עליה · תורה ·
תמימה · מודאה · לאלה · דכן · סעד · ואני · עבדה · מסכינה · הצריך · לרחמות ·
יהוה · וצדקותיה · שלח · בן · אברהם · בן · שלח · דמבני · דנפתה : יסלח · לי ·
. . . . מרה (?) · דיכלתה · בעמל · קדוש · ארהותה · והוה . . . . התלתה · ובעל ·
חלם . . . . . ודמע · דנביותה . . . . . ובית · כהנתה . . . . אמן ∴ ו

(And beneath this in Arabic in what appears to be the same hand.)

متوافق حدش هشبيعي عندنا. فى ٥ شعبان سنه ١٢٦٨ عربيه

"I have examined this holy Torah, and have read it, and have written upon it, 'Complete Torah'. Praise to God for his witness (?). I am the miserable slave, looking to the mercies and righteousness of the Lord, Shelaḥ, son of Abraham, son of Shelaḥ, of the Danafites. May the Lord pardon me as he can through the merit of the Torah, and this the third (?) . . . Amen."

The Arabic is, "On the 5th of Sha'bān of the year 1268, corresponding to the 7th month with us" [May, 1852].

4. At the end of the Book of Leviticus (p. 373), written in Samaritan majuscule, corresponding in size to the letters of the text of the codex. The characters, however, are not so carefully shaped nor the script as a whole so elegant.

קנה · זאת · התורה · הקדושה · סמוך · קהלה · וארכון · קהלה · שת · מבני ·
רמה · מן · שכוני · דמשק · מן · סהבה · טבה · מתוחיה · מן · שכוני · שכם ·
במספר · חמשה · ועשרים · דנר · אפלורי · ימלי · יחוה · דקנה · אתה · — וישמרו ·
וישמר · בניז · אמן · וכתב · פינחס · בן · אבישע · בן · פינחס · ועל · כיר · יד ·
מתוחיה · הזכיר · אסיד · וברוך · אלהינו · לעולם : ׳

"There purchased this holy Torah 12. 13. Seth of the Children of Ramah (?),[1] of the residents of Damascus, from 15 Methuḥiah of the residents of Shechem, at the number of 25 dīnārs aflōrī [2] (Florentine ?). May the Lord fulfil [the days] of him who purchased it.—And may he keep him and keep his children, amen. And there wrote [it] Pīnḥas, son of Abīsha', son of Pīnḥas, and by the instrumentality [3] of the hand of Methuḥiah, the recorder, who is witness. And blessed be our God for ever."

5. At the end of the Book of Numbers (p. 507), in the same

[1] Or is it Rumḥ ?

[2] The small number of coins suggest that they were golden.

[3] על כיר is used in Samaritan as the equivalent of על־יד. כיר is probably the Greek χείρ.

handwriting as the foregoing. The folio here has been torn, and a triangular piece, the apex of which reached to the fourth line of text from the bottom, has been lost. A portion of text is consequently missing, but can be reconstructed.

קנה · זאת · התורה · הקדושה · סמוך · קהלה · וארכון · קהלה · ועשה ·
טבהתה · וקראה · וצלאה · ומשירה — ויקירה · וכתובה · וחשובה · יזסף · בר ·
סהבה · טבח · ויקירה · וסמוך · קהלה · וארכון · קהלה · וקראה · וצלאה · ומשירה ·
וכתובה · וחשובה · צדקה · מבני · סנינה · מן · סהבה · טבה · וסמוך · קהלה ·
וארכון · קהלה · וקראה · וצלאה · ומשירה · שת · מבני · רמח · וכהלון · מן ·
שכוני · דמשק · במספר · חמשה · תעשרים · דנר · אפלו[חר]י · ימלי · יהזה · דקנא ·
אתה · וישמרו · ויו[שמ]ר · בנ[י] · אמן · וכתב · פינחס · בן · אבישע · בן · פי[נחס] ·
ו[ב]מה · סופיר · אסיד · וברוך · [אלהינו] · לעולם :—

"There purchased this holy Torah 12. 13. 14. 2. 3. 18. 1. 6. 5. Joseph, son of 15. 1. 12. 13. 2. 3. 18. 6. 5. Ṣedhaqah of the Saginites, from 15. 12. 13. 2. 3. 18. Seth of the Ramaḥites, and all of them of the residents of Damascus at the number of 25 dīnārs aflōrī. May the Lord fulfil [the days of] him who purchased it, and keep him, and keep his children, amen. The writer is Pīnḥas, son of Abīsha', son of Pīnḥas, and with what is recorded [paid?] he is witness. And blessed be our God for ever."

## Codex II.

Codex II. is a Samaritan MS. of the Pentateuch with Hebrew and Arabic in parallel columns, the Hebrew being the right hand column. The text occupies 220 folios, and is written entirely in Samaritan majuscule. The codex has suffered damage at the beginning, and to a small extent also at the end, with a consequent loss of text. The vellum leaves measured originally 16·75 in. by 13·5 in., but have been reduced in the process of the latest binding to 13·7 in. by 12 in. The ink used is a black (Indian) ink, which in fading has turned to a brownish colour. The writing is a small medium majuscule. The characters are made with some neatness, and the general effect of the whole is pleasing. There are, however, traces of haste, and there is little of the dignity which distinguishes Codex I. Much less care seems to have been taken with the writing towards the end of the codex. The characters are less accurately shaped, and signs of hasty and careless work increase. The double column offers less

scope for the 'columnar' arrangement of text. Yet it appears from time to time in the Hebrew column and in a less common and less pronounced form in the Arabic. There are several cases of erasion, especially in the Arabic column, a notable one occurring on folio 56*a*, where eight lines have been erased and rewritten. In the Arabic column there are several blank spaces left where the translator had difficulty in rendering Hebrew proper names into Arabic. The text column measures 9·5 in. to 10·2 in. by 3·7 in. to 4 in. The space between the columns is roughly ·4 in., and the space between consecutive lines roughly ·2 in. Guiding lines, if made at all, have been made very faintly and trace of them has mostly disappeared. Where they are supplied the first and last letters of each column are marked off. In the Arabic column little attention is paid to the final letters of the lines which are irregular in length and trespass often on the margin. The codex begins with 41 lines to the page, but a departure is made from that number at folio 11, and the number of lines to the page tends to increase until at a later stage it reaches 50 and 51. The number of letters to the line in the Hebrew column is roughly 17, but in the Arabic the number varies, and by diminishing the size of the letters as many as 25 and 30 are crowded into a line. No resort is made to Arabic script to economise space, as is so often done in more recent transcripts. Corrections are made interlinearly at the place of error.

There are the usual punctuation marks. The separator dot is written also at the ends of lines. The 'colon' and 'twin-dot' are the usual pause marks, and the end of a section is marked by —o:. Vocalisation is not specially marked. The supralinear stroke appears to be the only sign used. In the Arabic column diacritic points are placed over the appropriate Samaritan letters to represent the special Arabic sounds. Thus 𐤇 = ج, 𐤁 = ڤ, etc. The *tanwin al-fath*, the *medda*, and occasionally the *hamza* are indicated.

The MS. is, generally speaking, in good condition. It is damp-stained, soiled and rubbed in places, so that the writing is at times almost obliterated. Folios 65-70, containing the Passover portion (Ex. x.-xiii.), are much stained through exposure to

the weather. The folios which have the 'Blessing' passages, Leviticus ix. 22-24 (f. 109*b*), and Numbers vi. 24-27 (ff. 140*b* and 141*a*) are much begrimed through handling and kissing. From folio 217 to the end the MS. is much damp-stained and rubbed. A few folios have been torn, but they have been skilfully repaired without seriously affecting the text.

A. *Tashqīls.* There are 3 *tashqīls*, each twofold, Samaritan and Arabic.

1. The first begins on 53*b* and ends at the foot of 54*a*. The *tashqīl* in the Hebrew column reads

מכתב · משלמה · בן · יעקב · הרפא · ישול · פלטה · מיהוה :

That in the Arabic column is to the same effect.

خط مسلم ابن يعقوب المتطبب يسال السلامه من الله.

"Writing of Mashlamah,[1] son of Jacob, the physician, who craveth salvation from God."

2. A short *tashqīl* to direct attention to the midpoint of the Pentateuch, as in Codex I. That in the Hebrew column reads חצי · התורה, and in the Arabic نصف التوراه, both meaning "Half Torah".

3. The great *tashqīl* begins at the head of folio 179*b*, and both forms finish on 184*b*. The one in the Hebrew column extends through Deuteronomy i. 1 to iv. 8, and in the case of the Arabic, i. 1 to iv. 14. That found in the Hebrew column is as follows :—

הדה · ארהותה · קדישתה · כתבה · [2]העבדה · העני · לרצון · יהוה · משלמה · אסאה · בן · יעקב · נסיכה · בן · משלמה · נזירה · ליעקב · [3]אבני · [4]ואחת · על · אחיז · והיא · מליז · בארון · והסלתה · בירח · תשרין · שנת · תשע · ועשרים · זשבע · מאות · [5]למכות · ישמעאל · [6]תהיא · בריכה · עליז · ויילף · בה · בנים · ובני · בנים · אמן · אמן :

[1] Or Meshalmah, Arab. : Muslim.

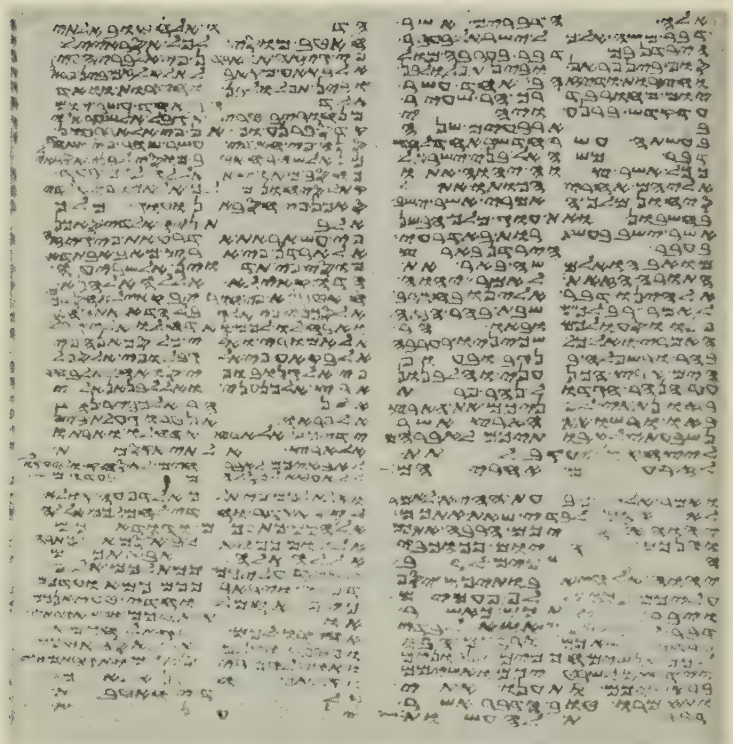
[2] There appears to be a ה too many in this word. Either we should have the Aramaic form עבדה or the Hebrew העבד, but not, as here, a combination of both.

[3] The א appears only faintly written, as if an attempt had been made to erase it. The scribe had in mind the Arabic ابنى.

[4] The וַ of this word has been written in the *tashqīl* matrix, but I do not think it was intended to form part of it.

[5] For מלכות. As I have noticed this form in other epigraphs, it is possible that the ל was dropped in pronunciation.

[6] The א has been added here on the analogy of the pronoun היא.



Pl. III.—Ryl. Sam. Codex II. (A.D. 1328), showing the Beginning of the great *Tashoil* in Samaritan and Arabic running down the Centres of the Hebrew and Arabic Columns respectively.

The corresponding *tashqīl* in the Arabic column is

هده التوراه المقدسه كتبها العبد الفقير الي الله مسلم المتطب بن يعقوب الناسك بن مسلم النازر ليعقوب ابني حاصه عن اخوته وهي كمال نسختين وانهيتها في شهر المحرم سنه تسع وعشرين وسبع ماوت لملكه اسماعيل تكون مباركه عليو ويعلم فتها اولاده امين.

" This is the holy Torah written by the poor slave (dependant) on the favour of God, Muslim (Mashlamah), the physician, son of Jacob, the ascetic, son of Muslim, the nazirite, for Jacob my son, apart (?) from his brothers ; and it comprises two versions. I finished it in the month of Muharram of the year 729 of the dominion of the children of Ishmael (Nov.-Dec., A.D. 1328). May it be a blessing upon him, and may he instruct by its means his children and children's children. Amen."

B. *Additions.* There are the customary notes at the ends of the books giving the total sections. Thus at end of Genesis we have (p. 55*a*) :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | عدد السفر الاول :— | ספר · הראשון :— |
| | مايتين وخمسين سوره :— | ר : < נ : < קצים :— |

2. After Exodus (101*a*) the space has been made ready for the note, but it has not been inserted.

3. The Book of Leviticus finishes so close to the foot of the page (132*a*), that no space has been left for the note.

4. After Numbers (179*a*) :

| | |
|---|---|
| عدد السفر الرابع | ספר · הרביעי : < |
| مايتي وعشرين سوره : | קצים : ר : וכ : < |

(" The number of) the Fourth Book, 220 sections."

5. After Deuteronomy (220*a*), no number is given. Instead we find the words :

| | |
|---|---|
| شريعه كامله | תורה · תמימה |
| تبارك معطيها | ברוך נתניה |

" The complete Torah, blessed be He who gave it."

C. *Deeds of Sale.*

1. On 55*a* in Sam. majuscule in good clear hand, more elegant than that of the copyist of the codex:

קנה · זאת · התורה · הקדושה · סמוכה · ויקירה · יעקב · בן · זקנה · אב · יתרנה · דמבני · פוקה · במדלה[1] · לנפשה · מן · יוסף · בן · חכימה · משלמה · דמבני · התנך · בחמש · מאות · ושבעים · כסף · בירח · טיבת · בשנת · ז : < ום : < וז : ק : < לממלכות · ישמעאל · תהי · בריכה · עליד · וילמד · בה · בנים · ובני · בנים · אמן · בעמל · משה · הנאמן · על · יד · כהנה · אב · נפושה · שמש · כתבה · קדישה · במצרים :—

"There purchased this holy Torah the Stay, and Esteemed Jacob, son of the Senator (?), Ab Yithranah of the Children of Pūqah (?) with his own (money) for himself, from Joseph, son of the sage Mashlamah, of the Children of Hatanakh (?) at the price of 570 (pieces of) silver, in the month of Ṭebet in the year 767 of the dominion of Ishmael. May it be a blessing upon him, and may he teach with it children and children's children, amen, through the merit of Moses, the Faithful, by the hand of the priest Ab Nefūshah, custodian of the Scroll, in Egypt."

2. On folio 101*a*, in Sam. majuscule in a good hand:

אתעתקת · זאת · התורח · הקדושה · מן · מַלכת · כמוכה · וארכונה · וזקנה · יעקב · בן · זקנה · טבה · אב · יתרנה · הזכיר · בה · אל · ממלכת · אשתו · שמחה · ברת · סמוכה · וחכומה · אברהם · דמבני · רמח · במדלה · לנפשה · בחמש · מאות · ושבעים · כסף · בשנת · שבעה · ותשעים · ושבע · מאות · למלכת · ישמעאל · תהי · בריכה · עליה · אמן · וכן · זבינותה · בחיי · בעלה · הזיכיר · אעלה · הוה · כן : ובכן · סחד · עבדה · צריכה · צדקה · בן · חלף · כהנה · שמש · כתבה · במצרים :

"There was transferred this holy Torah from the possession of Stay, Archon, and Elder (?) Jacob, son of Venerable, Ab Yithranah, who records it (?), to the possession of his wife Simḥah,[2] daughter of Stay and Sage Abraham of the Children of Ramaḥ[3] (?) with her own (money) for herself, at the price of 570 (pieces of) silver in the year 797 of the dominion of Ishmael (A.D. 1394/5). May it be a blessing upon her, amen. And likewise the purchase price was paid during the lifetime of her husband, the recorder. Witness to this is the abject slave

[1] מדלה is a word coined from דלו · מה, lit. 'what is his'. See Deed of Sale, No. 3 below.

[2] *Simḥah* means 'joy,' 'gladness'.

[3] Or is it the equivalent of the Arabic رُمْح = 'spear'?

Ṣedhāqah, son of Ḥalaf (?), priest, custodian of the Scroll in Egypt."

3. Also on folio 101*a* in Sam. majuscule showing unusual individuality, as well as a tendency to a cursive style. It has many contractions, which I have completed within square brackets.

קנה · זאת · התורה · הקדושה[ת] · במה · דלו · לנפשו · סמוך · קה[ולה] · וארכ[ון] · קה[ולה] · וקר[או] · וצל[או] · [1]ועשובה · [2]ויעדוה · ויקירה · ועשה · טובה · יעקב · בן · סמוך · קה[ולה] · וארכ[ון] · קה[ולה] · ומסכינה · אברהם · דמבני · פוקה · יסלח · לו · יה[ו]ה · מן · סמוך · קה[ולה] · וארכונה · וקר[או] · וצל[או] · [1]ועשובה · וכתובה · אברהם · בן · סמוך · קה[ולה] · וארכ[ון] · קה[ולה] · וקר[או] · וצל[או] · [2]ועשובה · וכתובה · ומסכינה · עבד · אלה · דמבני · איקירה · יסלח · לו · יה[ו]ה · ומנחתה · ארבעים · דנר · זהב · תהיה · בריכה · ומברכה · עליו · וילמד · בה · לנבה · בנים · ובני · בנים · וימלי · יתה · בה · בעמל · דמע · הנאמנים · וכן · ברח · שעבאן · שנת · ד֯ ופ֯ ו ה֯ מאות · לממלכות · עמי · נאדם · ואנפל · קשטה · מן · התונו · וחסיד · על · נפשו · כל · מה · יאתי · מן · [3]עביביו · ואחיו · ואחותו · וכל · קריביו · יהיה · דרכיו · ובכן · אסיד · וכתב · צדקה · בן · יושע · בן · מתוחיה · בן · טביה · בן · אברהם · בן · ברכה · הלוי · דמן · קרית · הכהנים · שעתי · המכתב · הקדוש · יה[ו]ה · יסיר · יתה · מן · ארע · מצרים · בטוב · אל · שכם · קרוב · בעמל · אבר[הם] · ויצ[חק] · וי[עק]ב · אמן · ובעמל · משה · הנאמן ·

"There purchased this holy Torah with his own (money) for himself 12. 13. 2. 3. 5. 6. 7. 1. 14. Jacob, son of 12. 13. poor, Abraham of the children of Pūqah (?). May the Lord pardon him, from 12. 13. 2. 3. 5. 6. Abraham, son of 12. 13. 2. 3. 5. 6. poor Abdullah of the children of Iqēra, may the Lord pardon him, and its price was forty gold dīnārs. May it be a blessing and a cause of blessing upon him, and may he teach with it to the highest degree (לנבה) children and children's children, and may he fulfil it [i.e. the Law] through it, by the merit of the 'tears of the faithful' [4] (?). And [this transaction took place] in the month of Sha'bān of the year 884 of the dominion of the

[1] This stands, I imagine, for וחשובה. As we have seen, the Samaritans used the gutturals indiscriminately.

[2] A mistake for וידועה. [3] For חביביו, cf. note above on עשובה.

[4] It is just possible that דמע הנאמנים may be for ד, 'who,' and the ﻣﻊ 'with' of Arabic. The translation would then be 'through the merit of him who is with (or among) the faithful,' i.e. Moses. The Samaritans often made strange combinations of their Aramaic with Arabic words.

people of Nādos (Oct., A.D. 1479). And even if the truth comes from his she-ass [1] may it be for his benefit. And may that which comes from his parents (חביבי),[2] his brothers and his sister and all his relatives be for his guidance (lit. his ways). And to this testifieth and writeth Ṣedhāqah, son of Joshua, son of Methuḥiah, son of Ṭabiah, son of Abraham, son of Berakhah, the Levite, who is of the city of the priests. May the Lord in brief time,[3] restore safely (lit. in good) the holy Scroll from the land of Egypt to Shechem near [to mount Gerizim], through the merit of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, amen, and through the merit of Moses, the faithful one."

4. On folio 179*a* Sam. majuscule script in a good hand.

קנה · זאת · התורה · הקדושה · לנפשו : סהנבה · טבה · ויקוירה ·
זקרנאה · וצלנאה · וחשנובה · וכתנובה · ונאוירה · וידנועה · ומבנוננה · וריטנורה ·
ומשנירה · ומעיני · העדה · ומתקן · מקרתה · וחשנוב · חשנבן · קשנטה :
זסמוך · קהלה · וארנבון · קהלה · דעשה · מיני · טבהתה · גלים · ונסתרותה :
עם · כל · יתום · ואלמנותה : ועם · כל · מסכין · במתנת · ידו · ובטב · דבר ·
לשונותה : עבד · יהוה · בן · סהנבה · טנבה · ויקוירה · וקרנאה · וצלנאה ·
וחשנובה · וכתנובה · ונאוירה · וידנועה · ומבנוננה · ופתנורה · וריטנורה ·
ומשנירה · ומעיני · העודה · ומתקן · מקרתה · ואמור · כל · חכמתה : ופרד ·
זבנו · בחכמתו · ודעתו · ובמתנת · ידו : וחשוב · חשבן · קשנטה · ואבי · יתום ·
ואלמנה : וסמוך · קהלה · ואורכון · קהלה · ועשה · טבהתה · אב · סכוה ·
דמבני · דנפתה : קנה · מן · נברה · טבה · ויקוירה · וקרנאה · ונאוירה · וסמוכה ·
ואורכונה · ועשה · טבהתה · אברהם · בן · סהנבה · טנבה · ויקוירה · וקרנאה ·
וצלנאה · ונאוירה · וסמוך · קהלה · ואורכין קהלה · ועשה · טבהתה · יסף ·
הסעדי · דמבני · מנשה : ומנחתה · שש · מאות · כסף : וכן · בשנת · אחד ·
חמשים · ומאה · ואלף · למלכות · בני · ישמעאל · וכתבו · העבד · הדל ·
משלמה · בן · אב · סכוה · הזוכיר · יסלח · לו · יהוה · אמן : ׀

"There purchased this holy Torah out of his own means 15. 1. 2. 3. 5. 6. 4. 7. 8. 16. 18. warden of the congregation (מעיני · העדה), and establisher of the order of services (מתקן · מקרתה), 17. 12. 13. and doer of all kinds of good deeds, public and private with all fatherless and widows, and with all poor by the gifts of his hand and by kind words, Ebed Yahweh (Abdullah), son of 15. 1. 2. 3. 5. 6. 4. 7. 8. and interpreter of dreams (פתורה), 16. 18. warden of the community, establisher of

[1] The translation of this passage is not certain. I have read התונו as Sam. rendering of אתונו, and ונגפל for وان نفل.

[2] Arabic حبيب.

[3] שעתי for שעתא. Heb. שעה.

services, dispenser of all wisdom, unique of his age in his wisdom and knowledge, and in the gifts of his hand, 17. and father of the orphan and the widow, 12. 13. 14 Ab Sakhwah of the Danafites, from the goodly man 1. 2. 4. 12. 13. 14. Abraham, son of 15. 1. 2. 3. 4. 12. 13. 14. Joseph, the Sa'dite of the children of Manasseh. And its price was 600 (pieces of) silver. This (transaction was concluded) in the year 1151 of the dominion of the children of Ishmael. There wrote it the poor slave Mashlamah (Meshalmah), son of Ab Sakhwah, the recorder. May the Lord pardon him. Amen."

Beneath, written in majuscule by another hand, are recorded the names of witnesses to the transaction. Unfortunately, in trimming the leaves of the codex the binder has removed the concluding parts of these records.

(*a*) . . . . מרחיב · על · זה · ישמעאל · בן · יצ[חק] · דמבני

Witness: Ishmael, son of Isaac, the Mufarrijī.[1]

(*b*) . . . . דנפתא · דמבני · יעקב · בן · אברהם · סופיר · במה · סהד

Witness to what is recorded, Abraham, son of Jacob, the Danafite.

5. On folio 220*a*, majuscule in stiff, squarish characters.

תהבת (?) · זאת · התורה · הקדושה · האשה · התמימה · שלחה · אל · בן · אחיה · הנער · הטב · ישמעאל · בן · יעקב · הדנפי · וקנה · אתה · כמו · הנער · יעקב · בן · עבד · [3] המיטיב · הסעדי · הכתרי · ומנחתה · שלשת · אלפים · [2] הט בן · כרישה · מצריה · נתן · אתם · לו · טרם · קחתו · אתה · ההוא · לממלכתו · מכינה · תורה · תמימה · ברוך · יהוה · נותינה · תהיה · בריכה · עליו · ויתן · כברכתה · אליו · ומן · זה · הקנון · בחדש · רביע · הראש · שנת · ששה · ותשעים · ומאה · ואלף · לממלכת · בני · ישמעאל · אודה · את · יהוה · והעד · בכן · וכתבו · אברהם · העיה · בן · שכן · רחמות · יהוה · ורתותו · יעקב · בן · אב · סכוה · הדנפי · דרוש · מיהוה · חתמת · הטוב · וכלות · מחיותו · בטוב : בעמל · אדונינן · אברהם · ויצחק · ויעקב · ושלום · יהוה · על · אדונן · משה · בן · עמרם :—

" There gifted this holy Torah the Perfect Woman,[4] Shelhah, to the son of her brother, the Good Youth, Ishmael, son of Jacob, the Danafite. He acquired it as the Good Youth, son of Jacob, son of Ebed Hamēṭīb,[5] the Sa'dite, the Kithrite (?), and its price was

[1] מרחיב is the Samaritan equivalent of Arab. Mufarrij.

[2] So written—perhaps for . בן . הטו[ב, or is it מן . הטב ?

[3] This is doubtless the Samaritan rendering of عبد اللطيف or عبد الكريم.

[4] Apparently honorific title for a woman.

[5] Equivalent of عبد اللطيف.

3000 Egyptian piastres, paid over before receiving it, certified (?) a 'complete Torah,' blessed be the Lord who gave it. May it be a blessing upon him and prove a blessing to him (?). This purchase [was concluded] in the month Rabī' I of the year 1196 of the dominion of the children of Ishmael. I praise the Lord. And the witness to it and its writer is Abraham 'Ayah, son of him on whom the mercies of the Lord and his compassions rest, Jacob, son of Ab Sakhwah, the Danafite, craving from the Lord a good sealing (of life) and the ending of his life in good. Through the merit of our Masters Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. And the peace of the Lord be upon our Master Moses, son of Amram."

Beneath this, in the same handwriting, a record of the witnesses to the transaction.

(*a*) סהד , בזה . עבד . יהזה . בן . משלמה . הדנפי :

Witness : 'Abdullah, son of Mashlamah, the Danafite.

(*b*) סהד . בזה . הממן . בר . שלח . הדנפי :

Witness : Abd-ul-Mannān, son of Mursil (שלח), the Danafite.

(*c*) סהד . בזה . אברהם . בן . יסף . הדנפי :

Witness : Abraham, son of Joseph, the Danafite.

(*d*) סהד . בזה . עבד . עשיר . בן . שלח . הדנפי :

Witness : 'Abd-al-Ghanī (עבד . עשיר), son of Mursil, the Danafite.

(*e*) סהד . בזח . אב . סכוה . בן . עבד . חנונה . הדנפי :

Witness : Ab Sakhwah, son of 'Abd-ul-Raḥmān, the Danafite.

# ST. MARK 14[72]: AN ARAMAIC MISTRANSLATION?

By The Reverend F. BUSSBY.

THE last three words of St. Mk. xiv. 72 have always been impossible to interpret satisfactorily. As the text stands in Westcott and Hort, and with the evidence then available (1881), the more difficult reading of B. *καὶ ἐπιβαλὼν ἔκλαιεν*, was preferable to the easier Western reading *καὶ ἤρξατο κλαίειν*. The various desperate attempts to render this difficult reading may be seen conveniently summarised in Swete's commentary on St. Mark.

Since then the valuable Sinaitic Syriac and the Koridethi MS. have been discovered, and both testify to the reading *καὶ ἤρξατο*. We will begin with the Syriac ܘܒܟܬ ܫܪܝ ܗܘܐ, translated by Burkitt[1] "he had begun to weep." Students will recognise immediately the well-known Aramaic idiom,[2] "he began to do a certain thing" which is simply a fuller way of saying "he did a certain thing."

Moreover, this reading *καὶ ἤρξατο*, which is found in the texts of Cæsarea, Antioch and the West, is supported by C. the Bohairic and Sahidic,[3] which usually support B. Further evidence of the truth of this reading comes from the other synoptics, who divided the idiom and wrote *ἔκλαυσεν*.[4] Most remarkable of all is the reading of the Ethiopic, which is based on the Syriac. The translators knew the idiom, and wrote "wabakya," "and he wept." That this is no accident is proved by the fact that

[1] Evangelia da Mepharreshe, *ad loc.*

[2] Dalman, "Words of Jesus," p. 28; Torrey, in "The Beginnings of Christianity," Jackson & Lake, Vol. 4, p. 3.

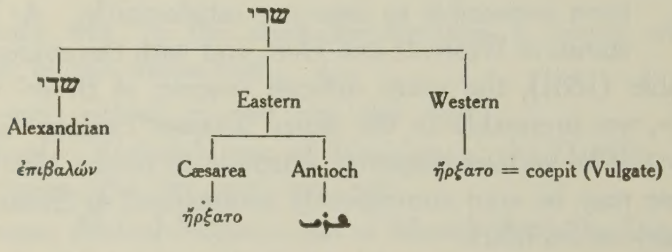
[3] See the evidence in Legg, "Novum Testamentum Graece," 1935.

[4] St. Mt. 26[75] and St. Lk. 22[62].

they have no word corresponding to ἤρξαντο in St. Mk. 15[18], but translate simply " and they greeted him." [1]

How then did the reading ἐπιβαλών arise? It arose from mis-reading שרי as שדי, a word which is translated elsewhere in St. Mark [2] as ἀποβαλών or ἐπιβαλών. That such a confusion is only too likely is obvious when the Palmyrene Inscriptions [3] are perused. These inscriptions range from 9 B.C. to 272 A.D., and the vagaries of ד and ר and the occasional diacritical point over the ר are well known.

Pictorially, therefore, we may represent the history of the reading as follows :—




It is beginning to look as though Burney's statement is near fulfilment.[4]

> " What is needed to substantiate the theory of an Aramaic original for Mark is some cogent evidence of mistranslation."

The true reading, therefore, I maintain to be καὶ ἤρξατο κλαίειν : the correct translation " and he wept."

[1] For this information about the Ethiopic I am indebted to the Rev. M. Gregory of the Coptic Church in Abyssinia.

[2] St. Mk.10[50]. [3] Cooke, " North Semitic Inscriptions ", pp. 263.

[4] " The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel," p. 19 (1922).

ABERDEEN: THE UNIVERSITY PRESS